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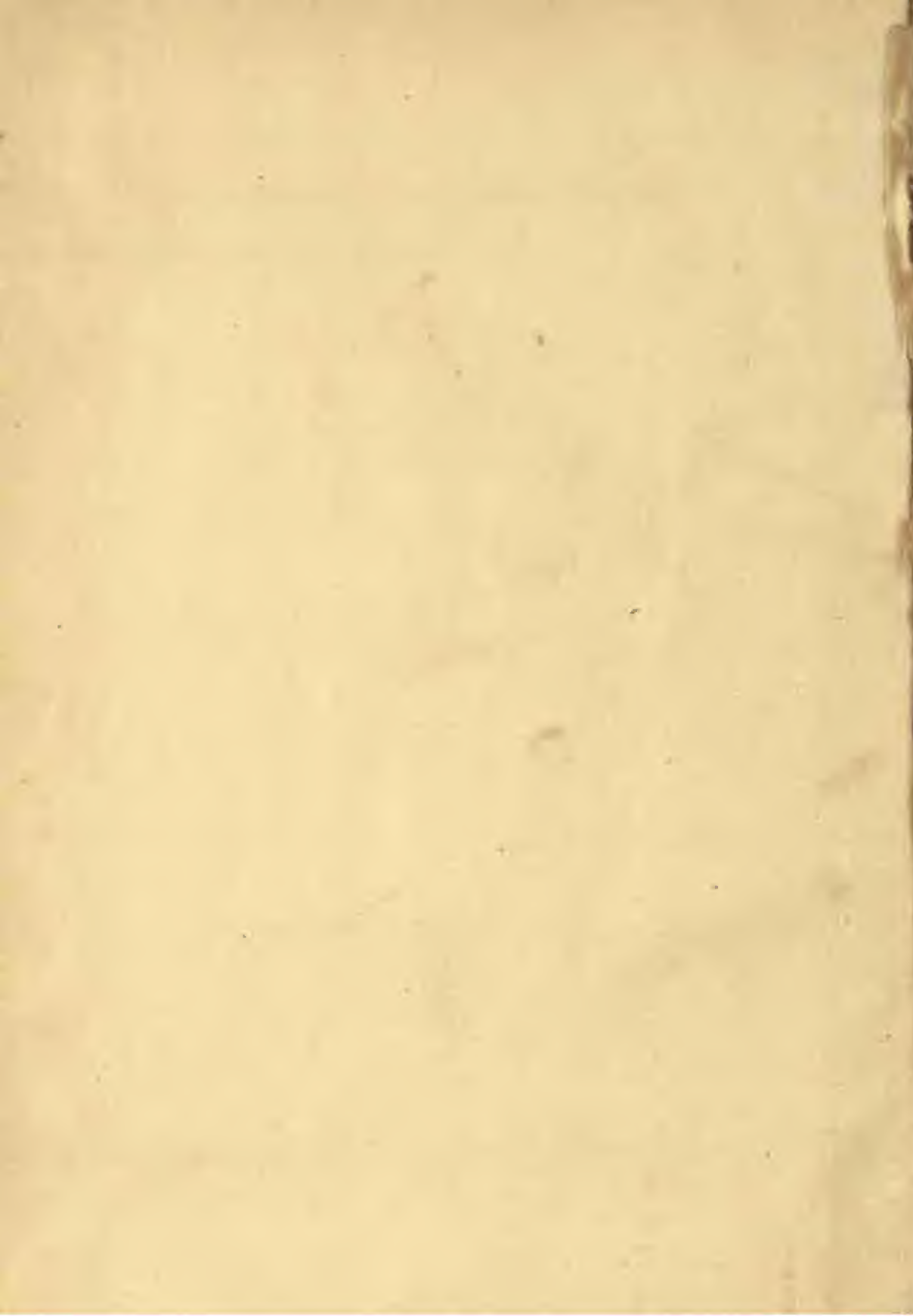
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## THE COINS OF NORTH SIAM

by

W. HARDING KNEEDLER

The ancient coins and tokens which one sees in the northern part of Siam are of such a large number of varieties that the study of them is an interesting one. On the other hand, it is very difficult to get reliable information concerning them. Mr. le May, in his book on the coinage of Siam,<sup>(1)</sup> shows pictures of some of the northern coins, and refers to them briefly. I hope that this article may serve to supplement the careful and elaborate information on Siamese coinage contained in his book. The plates which illustrate this article show the coins at roughly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of their actual size. The text describes the different types of coins as nearly as possible in the order in which they occur in the plates, the text therefore serving as key to the plates.

### FLOWER MONEY.

Plate I illustrates different types of what is commonly known as flower money on account of the fancied resemblance of the surface to flowers. As will be seen later much of the old coinage has undoubtedly been made to resemble forms of sea shells. As Mr. le May points out, cowrie shells were accepted as currency until comparatively recent times. In plate I, Nos. 1 to 4 and 7 to 10 have some concavity on their under surface, suggesting a resemblance to shells. No. 3 illustrates the reverse side of a coin such as No. 1, 2, or 4. The quality of silver in all coins of this type is very good, and all are made of silver. The weight varies much. No. 10 weighs about six ounces, whereas No. 11 is exceedingly thin and light. No. 12

(1) Reginald le May, *The Coinage of Siam*, Bangkok, 1932.

resembles Siamese niello work. It is difficult to say anything regarding the origin or age of these coins, but it is safe to say that some of them originated north of the present Siamese border.

#### LEAF OR LINE MONEY.

This type of money is illustrated in Plate II. It is known as "leaf money" on account of the fact that the convex surface has raised lines which frequently resemble the veining of leaves, or as "line money" because a line always crosses the center of the convex surface. It is always perforated. No. 4 represents the concave surface of these coins, which is always similar. The coins are never of silver, but are of a light colored alloy of somewhat varying composition, often with silvered surface. They are dug up from time to time all through north Siam, and probably represent baser coinage of the ancient kingdom of Lannat'ai, of which more will be said later. The resemblance of these coins to shells can readily be noticed. They are of fairly uniform size and weight. I have run across one or two bronze pieces which seem to be related to this type of money.

#### TOK MONEY.

This is money which in its form bears more or less resemblance to shells, and which includes several types of coinage. It is never of very fine silver, though its value is determined by its silver content. As Luang Boribai pointed out in his newspaper article in the T'ai Mai, there was a law of the time of King Mengrai, first king of Lannat'ai, A. D. 1296, which referred to tok money. It is conceivable that this may have been the leaf money to which I referred above. Tok money was officially used in C'iang Mai until the time of Prince Int'arawle'ityanôn, A. D. 1871, according to Luang Boribai.

#### TOK MONEY OF NAN.

The type of coinage shown in Plate III is generally referred to the principality of Nan. These coins are thick, heavy discs, the backs of which (not illustrated) are smoothly convex. The reverse side of that pictured, like the other forms of tok money to be described, shows some yellow and brown, or red; the silver or alloy having been poured onto egg yolk or chicken blood in the process of manufacture. The coins illustrated show varying contents of silver,



from No. 1, which seems to be mostly silver, to No. 10, which is copper or bronze with a little dab of silver on the surface around the circle shown in the picture at the upper part of the coin. No. 11 has no silver at all. The coins are of approximately uniform size and weight, differing only in their percentage of silver. They are usually perforated, though the perforation may be exceedingly small, only enough to permit of their being kept together strung on a thin wire. I have been told that some of these coins are still in actual use in Mu'ang Song, a small town in the Prè district.

#### TOK MONEY OF CHIENG MAI.

This type of coinage is illustrated in Plate IV. The coins usually found, Nos. 2 to 8, are black on the surface shown, yellow and brown on the other side from egg yolk, and hollow, with a moderate-sized opening on the reverse side from that pictured. The surface is easily dented, and the apparent fragility of the coins accounts for the fact that the coins which one finds do not appear to have been used very much. They have apparently been carefully put away in the homes of the people, and used for buying land and for the pledge of fidelity from the groom to the bride's family, and for other purposes. Where the custom of the pledge of fidelity still persists, rupees are now used. These coins are often chopped up, and the pieces used as offerings to the temples, so that this type of coinage, while not rare, is becoming less common. It was minted, so I am told, in Chieng Mai, close to the Great Pagoda, the Čedi Luang, and ceased to be made about 65 years ago. It is always of silver, of uniform but not very high degree of fineness. The standard size commonly met with is represented by Nos. 2 and 3, which are of the same weight. The coins of this size always have marks, and those of half this size, represented by No. 4, sometimes do. The marks are typically represented by drawing 25 and 26 or a variation of these, though drawing 27 also occurs, as well as a representation of a four-legged animal, possibly a deer. The marks are raised. The coins are marked in either two or three places. The mark on one side is the mirror image of the mark on the other side. The standard weight, represented by Nos. 2 and 3, is about two ounces. No. 1 weighs twice this, is concave on the other surface, has no marks, and is not fragile. This type is quite rare. Nos. 10 and 11 represent a sort of transition type between the so-called tok money of Nan and that of Chieng



Mãi. They are not hollow. No. 9 is solid, and has the same weight as No. 8, which is slightly hollow.

#### HORSE-HOOF TOK MONEY.

This money, known in Siamese as "wông tin ma" money, is very closely related to the tok money of C'ieng Mãi just described, both in size and composition, and the mark of drawing No. 26 occurs in both, though drawing No. 28, or a variation of it, pressed into the surface of the coin is more common. This type of coin was probably made in C'ieng Mãi also. It is rather rare. It is shown in Plate V, Nos. 1 to 4. Of these all are of the same grade of silver as the ordinary C'ieng Mãi tok except No. 2, which is copper or bronze. These are also hollow, but the space inside is very small.

#### PIG-MOUTH MONEY.

This money, pictured in Plate V, Nos. 5 to 7, really belongs in the same group as the tok money of other varieties. Its composition, though of better quality silver, is not of the best. It is dome-shaped, and is hollow, usually with a large opening, which bears a fancied resemblance to a pig's mouth. The resemblance of this type to the shape and appearance of a shell is, like other tok money, easily recognized. This type has no marks of any kind. Like the ordinary C'ieng Mãi tok money, this type is sometimes chopped up and the pieces given as offerings to the temples. It is rather rare.

#### BAR MONEY.

This type of money, shown in Plates 6 and 7, was made in olden times by people of Siamese race living in the valley of the Měkhong River in the region known a few hundred years ago as Lan C'ang. I have occasionally seen rather new looking pieces somewhat similar to Plate VII, Nos. 1 and 2, and have been informed that this type of money is still in use to some extent among people of Khamu race in this region, by whom it may still be manufactured, though rather crudely and only to a small extent. The coins pictured in Plate 6, Nos. 9 to 13, show a definite resemblance to dugout canoes such as are used on the Měkhong River, and the coins may have originated with this imitation of shape. This type is ordinarily without marks of any kind, though No. 2 plainly shows a star, and No. 12 shows

indistinct stars at each end though it is so old and worn that it is hard to distinguish. These unmarked bars are of various shades and compositions, but contain little if any silver. The bar money is known in North Siam as leech money, and in Plate VI, Nos. 1 to 5, the resemblance to the form of leech commonly found in Siam is easily noted. Coins like these five always have the figure of an elephant stamped in the centre, and may have a total of from two to four marks stamped on their concave surface, usually three. In addition to the elephant there is always either the wheel or the star mark, and I have one specimen which has two stars on the convex surface also. The medium-sized coins of this type are not uncommon, but the large and small are rare. Of the medium-sized ones, those which have a fat elephant with a big eye on them are broader and flatter than those which have a thin elephant stamped on them. The coins may be made of copper, or of copper surfaced with silver, or of an impure silver, surfaced with a better silver. Mr. le May attributes them to the principality of Wieng C'an,<sup>(1)</sup> but no one whom I have asked, Siamese or foreign, can give me the slightest suggestion or opinion about the place of their origin, except that it must definitely have been in the Mèkhong Valley.

The coins shown in Plate VI, Nos. 6 to No. 8, and all of Plate VII, are sometimes made of pure silver, but more often are of good silver only on the surface, while inside is impure silver or bronze or copper. As shown in the pictures, they are of two standard sizes. The two commonest marks are shown in Plate VI, Nos. 7 and 8. The latter I have not seen on the large size coins. The former, looking like a snake, appears on coins of other types also, as may be noted, and has been interpreted to me as being "Na" a somewhat sacred symbol. I should like to call attention to the circular depressions sometimes seen on large coins of this type, which in some cases have a hole in the center of them which goes through the coin. The mark of an elephant, though not pictured, also occurs on this type of bar coin.

#### C'IEUNG MONEY.

This type of coinage, shown in Plates VIII, IX, and X, was apparently the standard coinage of the ancient kingdom of Lannat'ai, which was founded with its capital at C'ieung Mai in the year 1296,

<sup>(1)</sup> Reginald le May, *op. laud.*, p. 13.



and fell before the Burmese and Peguans in 1558. The people were of T'ai race, and though the region was under the rule of Burma with small intervals of Siamese rulership until comparatively recent times, it never regained individual power or importance. The word "c'eng", which prefixes the names of many of the cities of the region, means "city", and this accounts for the derivation of the common name of this type of money. Typically this money is a silver bar, the ends of which were curved; then a cut was made part way through the center, and the cut made to gape by bending the bar from the center. In the coins made of silver, the coins could be made in this way, but with coins made of other metals or alloys, the coins had to be cast in shape, or partly cast and partly cut, as in Plate VIII, Nos. 9 to 15. Speculation has been made as to why this shape was used. Through the courtesy of Nai Leng Musikpokot, I have had three entirely unique coins or tokens photographed from his collections, which appear on Plate IX, Nos. 4, 5, and 6. These were dug up twenty years ago in the old town at the foot of Mt. Sāt'ep, where the King of C'eng Mái had his summer palace. This place has been deserted for four hundred years. No. 4 is really two separate pieces, one of which can be moved freely inside the other. They cannot, however, be taken apart. Nai Leng told me that when he acquired them twenty years ago, he showed them to a lady more than ninety years old, who told him that she had seen in her early youth pieces of this sort given at marriage, probably by the groom to the bride's parents as the tok money was later used. No. 7 was dug up at Mu'ang Prao, fifty miles north of C'eng Mái, while No. 8 came from a place south of C'eng Mái, being likewise dug up. The coins are of pure zinc, having been analyzed by the Siamese government laboratory. They are of a dull greenish hue, and when I first saw No. 7 I thought it was stone rather than metal. It is interesting to note that I purchased a coin of the lump or bullet type in Bangkok which is similar to Plate XI, No. 6, which appears to be of zinc. One may speculate where the zinc came from, since in early times north Siam was somewhat isolated, and no deposits of zinc in that region are known at present time. The marking on these zinc c'eng coins is most peculiar, being apparently a sort of hieroglyphics. I have carefully drawn the markings of Plate IX, No. 8 in drawing No. 23. This is the only one I have found which is clear enough to copy accurately. It is identical with the marking on one of Nai Leng's pieces which I

borrowed and pictured here. I have found the same marking as Plate IX, No. 7 on another coin from another part of the C'eng Mái region. The zinc pieces are rare.

Plate VIII shows various types of old c'eng money. Nos. 1 to 3 were probably the standard of the old kingdom of Lannat'ai, and of these much more will be said. Nos. 4 to 8 and 19 to 21 represent smaller silver coinage of the same type. Nos. 9 to 11 are of baser alloy with silvered surface, and Nos. 13 to 15 are likewise of alloy. No. 12, which is from the collection of Rev. H. G. Knox, is a handsome, shiny coin of hard gray metal. Nos. 16 to 18 are of soft lead. The largest of these is from the collection of Mr. H. A. Garrett.

Plate VIII, Nos. 1 to 3, which I have considered as the standard coins of Lannat'ai, weigh about 1 tamlú'ng, or a little over  $\frac{1}{2}$  bat. The weight varies slightly. They always contain three marks; near the centre is the figure "4" (the smaller marked coins of this type weigh  $\frac{1}{2}$  the larger, or 1 bat); near the tips of the coin is the stamp which I shall call the royal mark; in the centre is the name of the principality of Lannat'ai in which the coin was issued. There were a number of these principalities, all owing allegiance to C'eng Mái, but each practically independent and issuing its own money. The writing is in archaic Siamese, which writing was introduced in 1296, the year that Lannat'ai was founded, and, according to Mr. W. A. R. Wood, was in use through Lannat'ai within four years later. It seems likely that these coins date between then and the fall of C'eng Mái in 1558. The Burmese occupation continued until 1773, when the city was destroyed by the Siamese, to be rebuilt twenty years later.

Careful drawings have been made from coins in my collection, to show the place-names. I am sorry that I could not get hold of a C'eng Rai coin to copy. It is known, but it is rare. On the other hand, some are pictured which have not been known before, and future collectors may discover still more. Nos. 1 to 7 of the drawings are C'eng Mái. I have pictured a number of these in order to show variations and gradations. In the past, authorities have sometimes considered Nos. 6 and 7 to be a *p'* for P'ayao, but Prof. Coedès, the supreme authority on old Siamese inscriptions, definitely attributes them to C'eng Mái. No. 8 may be a *p'* for P'ayao, or may likewise be a C'eng Mái coin. I have seen this both on the one bat and the standard  $\frac{1}{2}$  bat size. No. 12 also may possibly be



C'ieng Mái, otherwise it is unintelligible, even to Prof. Cœdès. Drawings Nos. 9 to 11 represent C'ieng Sên; The last letter in No. 11 shows a more modern type of "n" than the other two. The C'ieng Mái and C'ieng Sên coins are the ones usually seen. Those with other marks are all quite rare. No. 13 represents Mu'ang Hang or Hang Luang, where the greatest Siamese king, Nāresnen, died while on campaign against Burma. Nos. 14 and 15 read "Fang" and "Söpfang" respectively, and refer to the ancient city of Mu'ang Fang, the first capital of the T'ai or Siamese within the present boundaries of Siam. It was laid waste finally in 1717, and has never been rebuilt. The prefix "söp" is still used for place names and means that the city was at the mouth of the Fang River. No. 16 is Nan. Nos. 17 and 18 are Lāk'ôn or Nāk'ôn, now known as Lampang. No. 19 is Prê. No. 20 reads "Sāk", which means "Teak". Teak forests have always been important in North Siam, and at the present time there are several villages by this name. Nothing is known of any ancient city by this name, however. It remains completely buried in the mists of antiquity except for this one coin. The coin from which No. 21 is copied is not very clear. As copied, the first letter looks like a "W", but it could really be an "S". The last letter is not quite clear either, but it is certainly not the same as the last letter of the "Sāk" coin. It could read "Wāng", referring to Mu'ang Wāng, north of Lāk'ôn. No. 22 can not be read, though the first letter is definitely an "S".

I have also drawn as carefully as possible the various royal marks which I have found, including those in the National Museum, and have noted on which coins these different marks appear. This is necessarily a very incomplete list. The C'ieng Mái coins, drawings 1 to 7, having the marks A to L, and P; with the exception of H, which appears on a coin with the mark of drawing 8. C'ieng Sên is represented by M to O and Q to T. The W was found on the *inside* of a standard C'ieng Mái coin, and on the outside of a 1 bat coin in the National Museum which was marked C'ieng Sên. Mu'ang Hang is marked with drawing U; the Fang coin with drawing T; and the Söpfang coins with drawings C and V. Nan is represented by S and T; Lāk'ôn by A and R; Prê by R; and Sāk by C. Drawing No. 21 is linked with drawing A, while drawing No. 22 is linked with drawing R. The marks represented by drawings AA and BB appear on 1 bat coins. Drawings X and Y are the figure

"4" appearing on all the standard size coins. I have one coin which instead of this has a mark like drawing Z.

Old coins of the c'eng type which are heavier than the standard size occur. I saw one large one which weighed 23 bat, and was marked similarly to the piece of bar money on Plate VI, No. 8. The owner later broke it, intending to use the silver, but found the silver was only on the surface, with lead inside. The coins shown on Plate X are all larger and heavier than the standard c'eng coins, No. 2 weighing more than 25 bat. These all, however, with the possible exception of No. 3, I believe to be modern imitations of the c'eng type coins, dressed up to look old.

Mr. le May, in his book, speaks of "bracelet" type coinage, and pictures what he puts in this type.<sup>(1)</sup> All that which he pictures, however, appears to me to be merely widely open c'eng money, and is so called by the people of North Siam. I have pictured on Plate IX, Nos. 1 and 2, two coins of this type which I purchased in P'rô together. They are of the same weight, but with slightly different marking, and are of good silver. As these represent widely open c'eng coins, No. 3 on the same plate shows just the opposite. Two views of it are shown. A particular point of interest about this narrow c'eng coin is the fact that, while the c'eng coinage is the typical one of Lannat'ai, and the bar coinage the typical one of Lan C'ang, here is a c'eng coin which has marks identical with the second mark from the left on Plate VI, No. 4.

Referring back to the subject of bracelet coinage, Mr. le May<sup>(2)</sup> cites an old reference to the effect that bracelet money was used in the north of Siam at a very remote date. Luang Boribal speaks of original lump silver being used for currency, this developing among the Chinese into bar money and curved bar or bracelet money. At present, the hill tribes of Siam wear their silver around their necks, or as bracelets, often of very simple design and heavy weight. However, I have not heard of any actual bracelet coins, nor has the National Museum.

#### FISH MONEY.

Plate XI, Nos. 12 and 13 illustrate a very rare type of old money known as fish money. It is occasionally dug up. It is particularly interesting that No. 12, which really looks like a fish, appeared

(1) Reginald le May, *op. laud.*, Pl. III. (2) *ibid.*, p. 11.



together with some pieces of leaf money, and is made of the same slightly yellowish, light silver-like alloy. No. 13 is of silver; its resemblance to a fish requires a good deal of imagination to see, as is the case with a bronze specimen in my collection. The three pieces show a slight resemblance to each other in the tails. The two very old fish coins pictured by Mr. le May seem to be somewhat different.

#### LUMP OR BULLET MONEY.

Mr. le May believes that this type of coinage, long the official and common type of Siam, originated in the north of the country. He cites a letter dated 1615, in which the C'ieng Mai bat is said to weigh 85% of the Siamese, and to be baser in value. He pictures bullet coins which he considers to be of C'ieng Mai, but also says that the earliest Siamese coins were of this weight too. The letter above quoted did not definitely mention the shape of the northern coins, but it is a fair presumption that they were of the same shape. However, C'ieng Mai was under the rule of Burma then, and it seems likely that what the writer of the letter referred to was the standard coinage of Burma, whatever that may have been, if indeed there was any. In the north of Siam, I have found no old coinage of this type except that which Luang Boribal of the National Museum refers to the ancient Siamese kingdom of Sakhot'ai, and he says that he knows of no other type referable to C'ieng Mai or Lannat'ai. I have pictured some of these obtained in North Siam in Plate XI, Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6, two views being shown of 1 and 3. No. 5 is from the collection of Rev. W. Harris. No. 1, of which there are a number of specimens in the National Museum, weighs two and a half ounces. These coins are of various compositions.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Plate XI, Nos. 2 and 4, Luang Boribal identifies as from Prathom, and dates at the sixth century. The deer was the earliest symbol of Buddhism. Both sides of these coins are shown. The National Museum has a number of coins (silver) like No. 4, together with other coins of the same type and period. No. 4 is of bronze, with silvered surface. Though these coins were obtained in the north of Siam, they are, strictly speaking, outside the scope of this article.

Nos. 7 and 8 on this plate, are discs of unknown alloy, acquired together. One had evidently been cut to "make change".

No. 9 is a new-looking disc of silver, gray on the surface shown, with a beautiful red metallic spot. The other surface is chicken blood or egg yolk. Certain odd pieces, of which this is one, are referred to as *polep* money.

No. 10 is a cubical lead piece which appears once to have had official marks, but which has worn until they are no longer recognizable. No. 11 is merely a bronze weight, included only because of the "na" mark on it, (see similar marks on bar, *cieng*, and *tok* money.)

#### SYCEE MONEY.

Plate XII shows lumps of silver which one occasionally finds in north Siam, and which I believe have filtered in by caravan from Yunnan. Nos. 1 to 6 may once have been manufactured in Siam as well as in China; they are conical or dome shaped lumps of solid silver without markings. No. 3 shows one of these which has been cut to make change. Nos. 9 and 10 are of slightly different shape, and show Chinese characters on their under surfaces. The convex surface is without markings, and the pieces are quite heavy. Nos. 7 and 8 are specimens of what is known as saddle money or turtle money, on account of its shape. Other forms of it occur also, being variations of these two kinds. These pieces are always of the very best silver. No. 7 has no marking at all on the convex surface. The under surface of No. 8 is rather flat, and without marking.

I wish to express appreciation to those who have helped me in preparing this article, some of whose names have already been mentioned. I particularly appreciate the interest and help of Luang Boribol Buripant of the Siamese National Museum, Prof. G. Coedès of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi, and of Monsieur J. Burnay at whose request I prepared this article and who has helped me with it in many ways. I also appreciate the care and interest shown by Mr. M. Tanaka of *Cieng Mái* in the preparation of the photographs.







*MAP OF*

*INDO-CHINA PENINSULA*

(Showing Boundary of Siam in dotted lines).



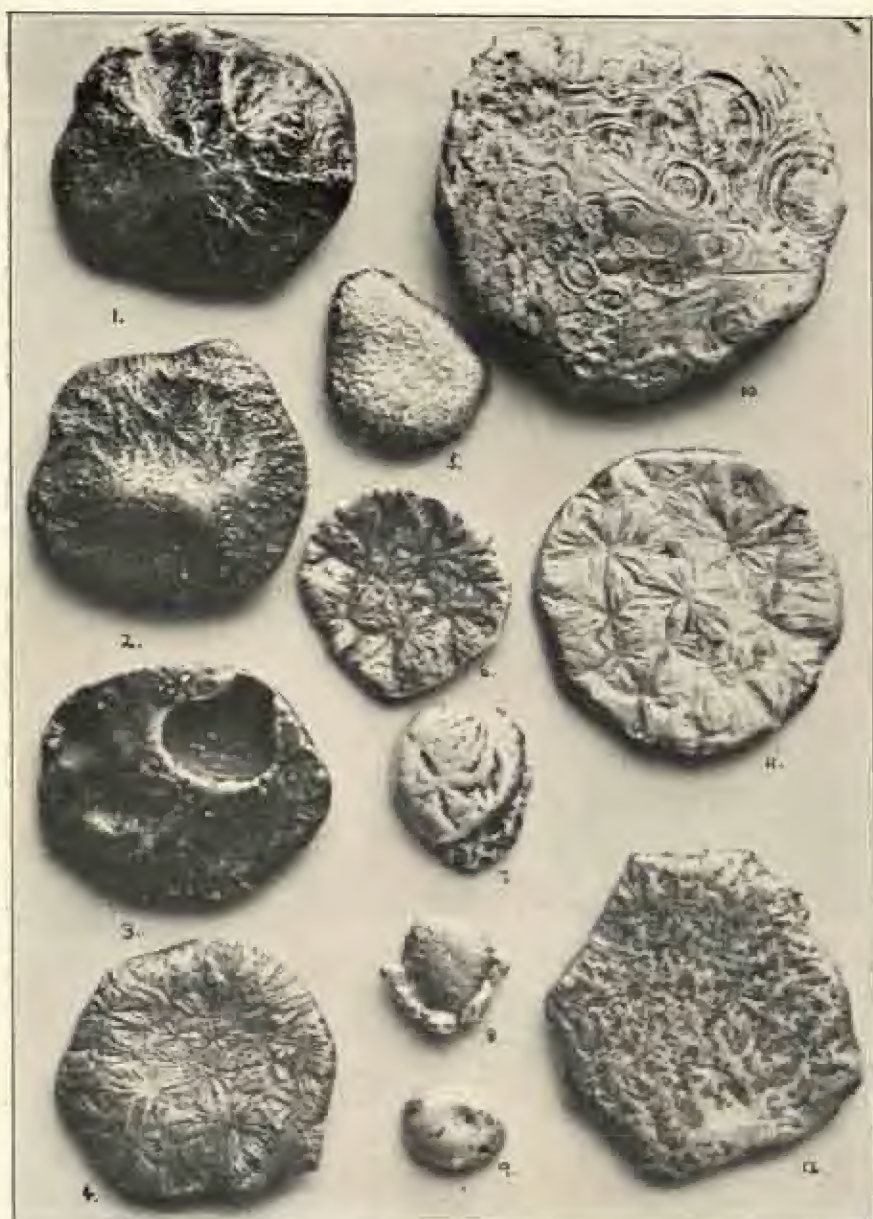


PLATE 1

(Kneeder)







PLATE II

(Kneidler)





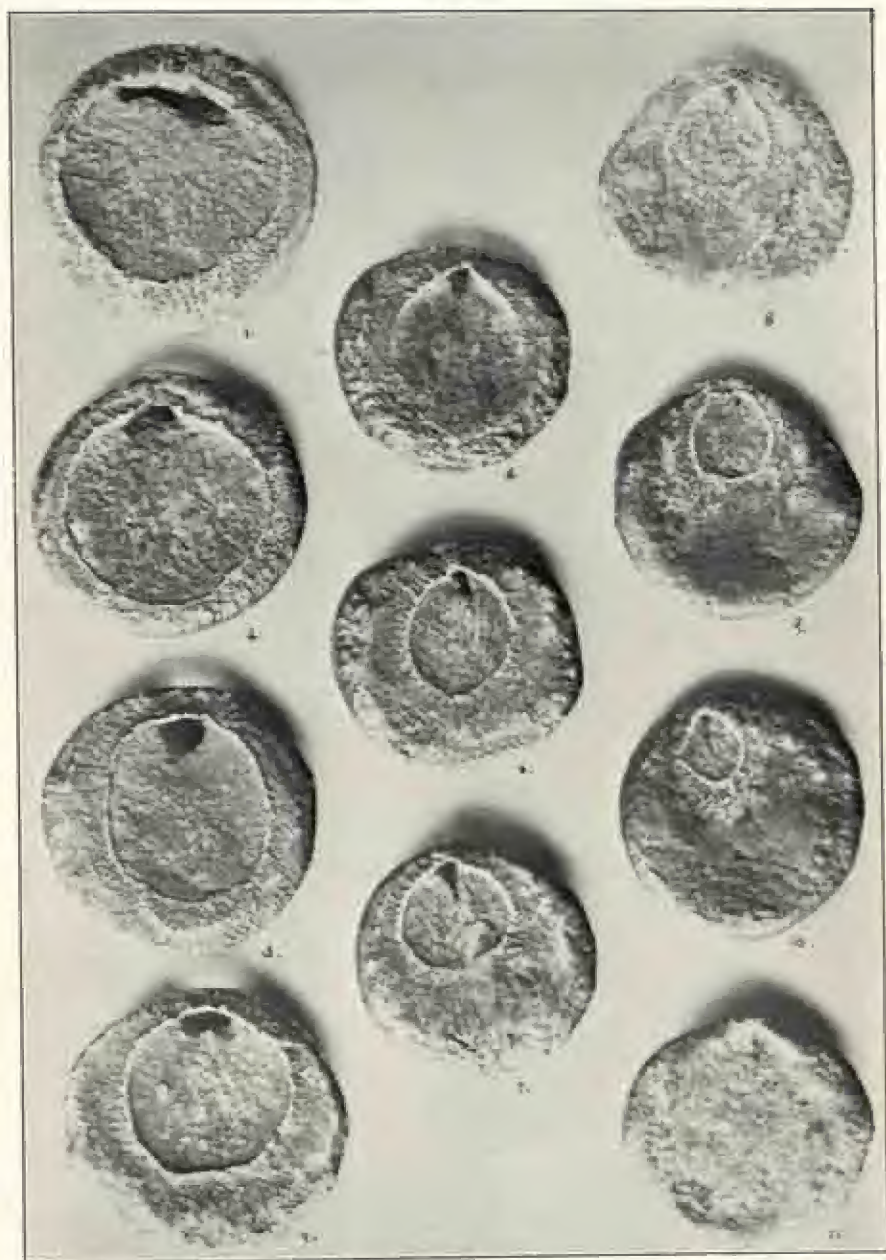


PLATE III

(Kuedler)





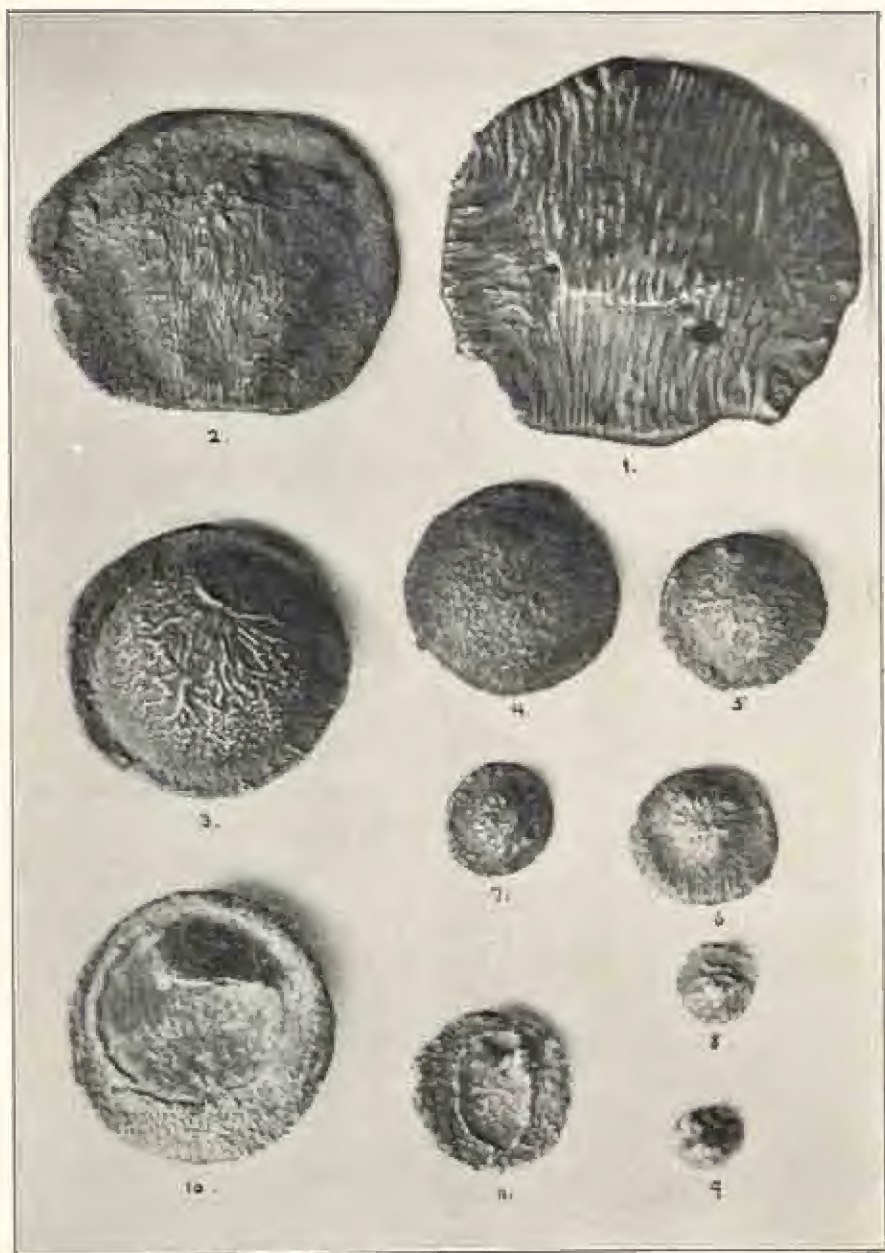


PLATE IV

(Kneidler)







PLATE V







PLATE VI

(Kneidler)





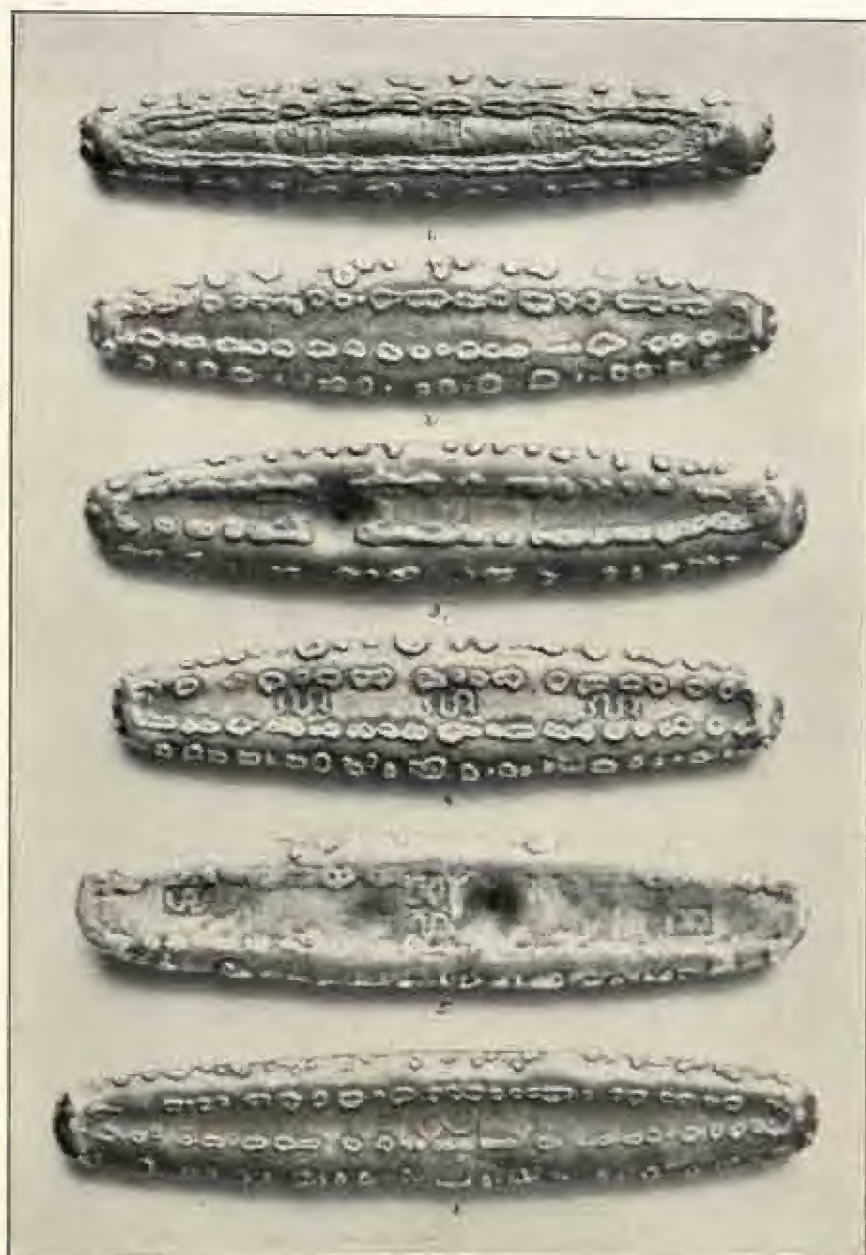


PLATE VII





PLATE VIII

(Knudley)







PLATE IX

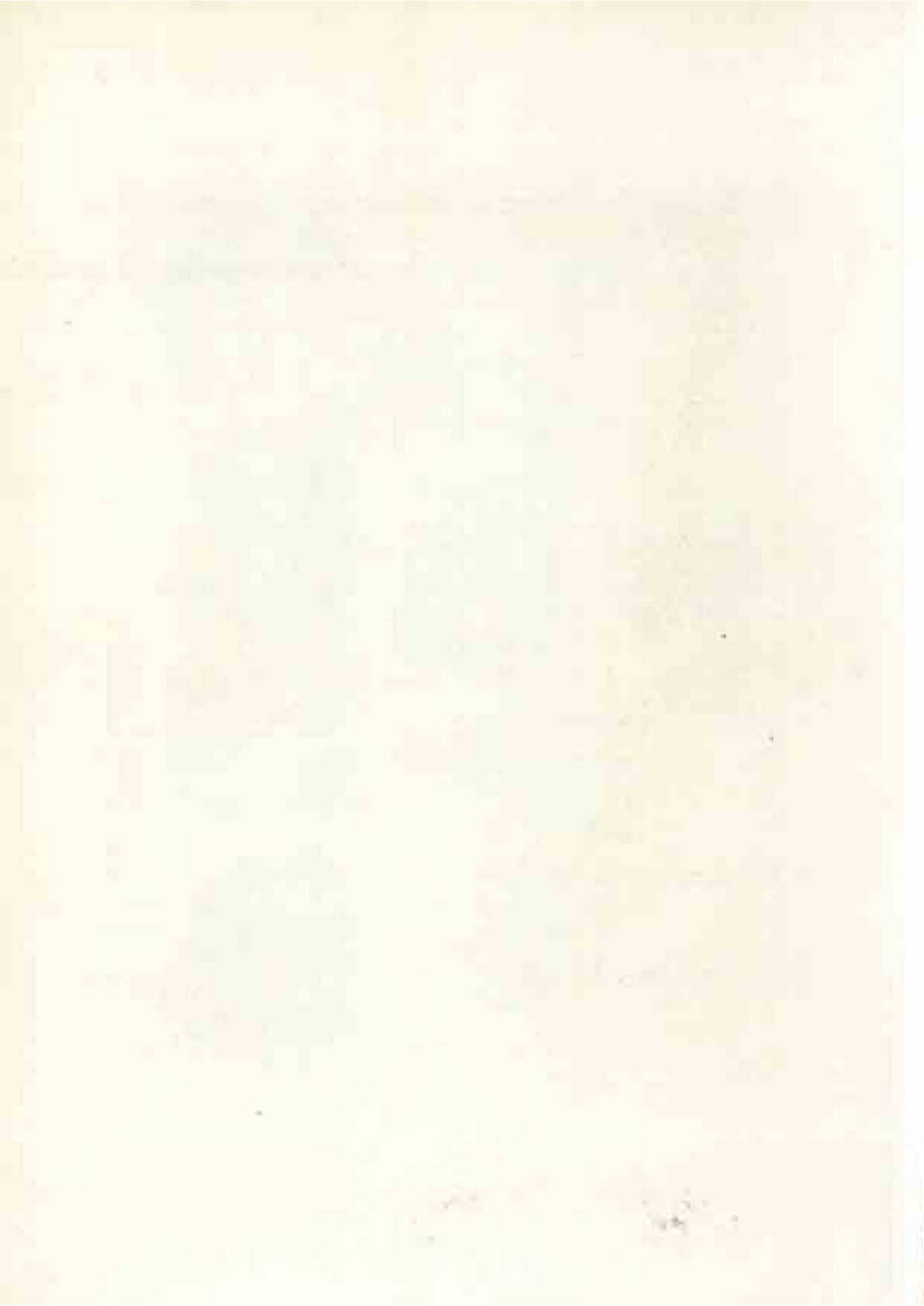






PLATE X





PLATE XI

(Kneeder)







PLATE XII





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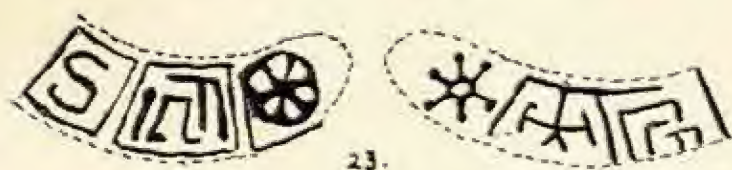
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PLATE XIV

(Kneidler)





# TAI POTTERY

by

PRĀYA NĀK'ŌN P'ĀH RAM.<sup>(1)</sup>

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

It is a source of pleasure to me to submit to you what I have been able to note of Tai Ceramics. As a matter of fact before I became interested in and commenced my collection of what is known as Sānk'ālok (Sāwānk'ālok) ware, I hardly thought that there could have been any persons more interested in this subject than Messrs. Graham, Sebastian and le May, as shown by their addresses and contributions to the Journal of the Siam Society and other publications. All authorities uphold the belief that Sānk'ālok pottery was first manufactured after the return of Ramā K'āmhēng as King of Sākhot'āi from China, where History says he went in 1294 A. D. or 1300 A. D., and brought back some 300 or 500 Chinese potters. I too, who was in the habit of taking persons interested in this matter to the kilns of Sānk'ālok and Sākhot'āi, accepted the truth of this belief.

It was Mr. le May who suggested that if I could make a collection of specimens it would be of much value to students of history. At first I was not prepared to undertake this, as I still believed in the correctness of the theory that our potters came from China, and consequently, that there could be nothing further to be discovered that would be of any interest. It was only when I met Mr. Bourke Burrowes, the then Adviser in Forestry to the Government, on his return from a visit to the Sāwānk'ālok kilns, bringing with him a number of specimens of the ware, and his telling me of the interest shown in Chinese pottery in London that my curiosity became really

(1) This paper was read before a meeting of the Society on December 18th, 1935.

aroused. Mr. Bourke Burrowes told me that his father dealt in Chinese pottery in London, and on one occasion when some consignments of greenish grey pottery were received from that country they sold quickly and fetched high prices. This was "celadon" which the Chinese called *Ling Ch'ian* ware. His father sent an agent to China to make purchases on the spot but was unable to procure specimens similar to those which he had recently sold, his agent being told that the manufacture of this pottery had ceased a thousand years back. Mr. Bourke Burrowes, speaking from memory, said that the specimens which his father had sold were of a colour and translucency somewhat similar to the pottery which he obtained in *Sāwānk'alok* (Plates I, II, III, IV, V). That led him to believe that the pottery sold by his father came from this place. This conversation made an impression on me, but I was unable to say anything as I had no knowledge of the subject.

I then took up the study of Siamese history and it appeared that the *Tai* race had been in existence as an independant people for a period not less than that claimed by the Chinese. This fact further stimulated my interest, and I asked myself what utensils the *Tai* people used prior to contact in war with the Chinese and prior to the visits of *Ramā K'ānhēng* to that country. It is a historical fact that the *Tai* people were capable of producing beautiful images in bronze and brass of the Buddha and that the clay crucibles in which the metal was melted were glazed. Therefore, if they could make glazed crucibles, why did they not produce pottery, and, if they did not, what did they use in its place?

Although my interest in the subject had been excited, I did not carry my investigations further, as experts told me that the subject was most difficult, demanding the possession of a large collection in order to be able to compare, check and separate the spurious from the real and to know the age of each specimen. The subject seemed to be so complex that I felt I had not the time to take it up.

Later on, however, Mr. le May again persuaded me to collect, offering to help with specimens of Chinese pottery in case I should wish to make comparisons. I decided therefore to start collecting, not only because I was now interested but also because I felt that in my official position in *P'itsāndlok* I should be able to talk intelligently on this subject to those foreigners and others who might visit the kilns. I have been collecting now for over six years, and some of my



friends describe my house as a rubbish heap, for it is a home of over 1,500 pieces and over a ton of fragments. I sincerely hope that my collection which is open to inspection may be of value to those interested, and, as its contents have been collected from kilns in various parts of the country, a study of it may throw a new light on the history of the origin of this ware.

## 2.—METHOD OF WORKING.

The first steps I took in the investigation of this subject were quite simple. I bought and gathered together fragments of Sānk'ā-lok ware, collecting pieces of pottery which were lying buried in the vicinity of several kilns both in Sāwānk'ālok and Sūkhōt'āi. In excavating I removed the upper layers, carefully digging down to the lowest in order to be able to judge of the differences between the earlier and the later productions. The points which I took up for particular examination were: the kind of clay, the method employed by the potter, the shape and form, the enamel, the decoration and the method of baking. I stretched my hands out to embrace old cities and other populated centres such as Tāng Yāng in Uttārādīt, C'ālieng, C(r)i Sāt'e'ānalāi, Sūkhōt'āi, P'itsānūlok, Mu'ang Pēp, Kāmp'ēng P'ēt, Bāu Kōn, Wāng Prāh Thāt, U-Tōng in Sūp'ān, Nāk'ōn Pāthōm, P'ōng Tū'k and Lōpbūri; and I collected a number of specimens from each place, so that I might ascertain the kind of pottery formerly used in these different localities and their successive development, and if possible to trace the kilns from which the pottery I collected had originated. Obviously the older specimens would be found at a lower level than the more recent. When I was unable to superintend the excavation in person, I entrusted the matter to my friends, giving them particular instructions that notes were to be made of the depth at which the articles were found. My attention was attracted to certain river banks where broken specimens of pottery were seen in the soil such as at the Bo tree of Wāt Nōi and south of Pak P'ing (on the Nan river), both in the province of P'itsānūlok, as well as on the east bank of the Yōm river at C'ālieng (i. e. Sāwānk'ālok) in front of the Monastery of the Great Relic. I had such places excavated in some instances to the depth of 3 metres, in order to fix definitely the different periods at which certain types of pottery were used, working on the principle that pottery found at a lower level were the more ancient.

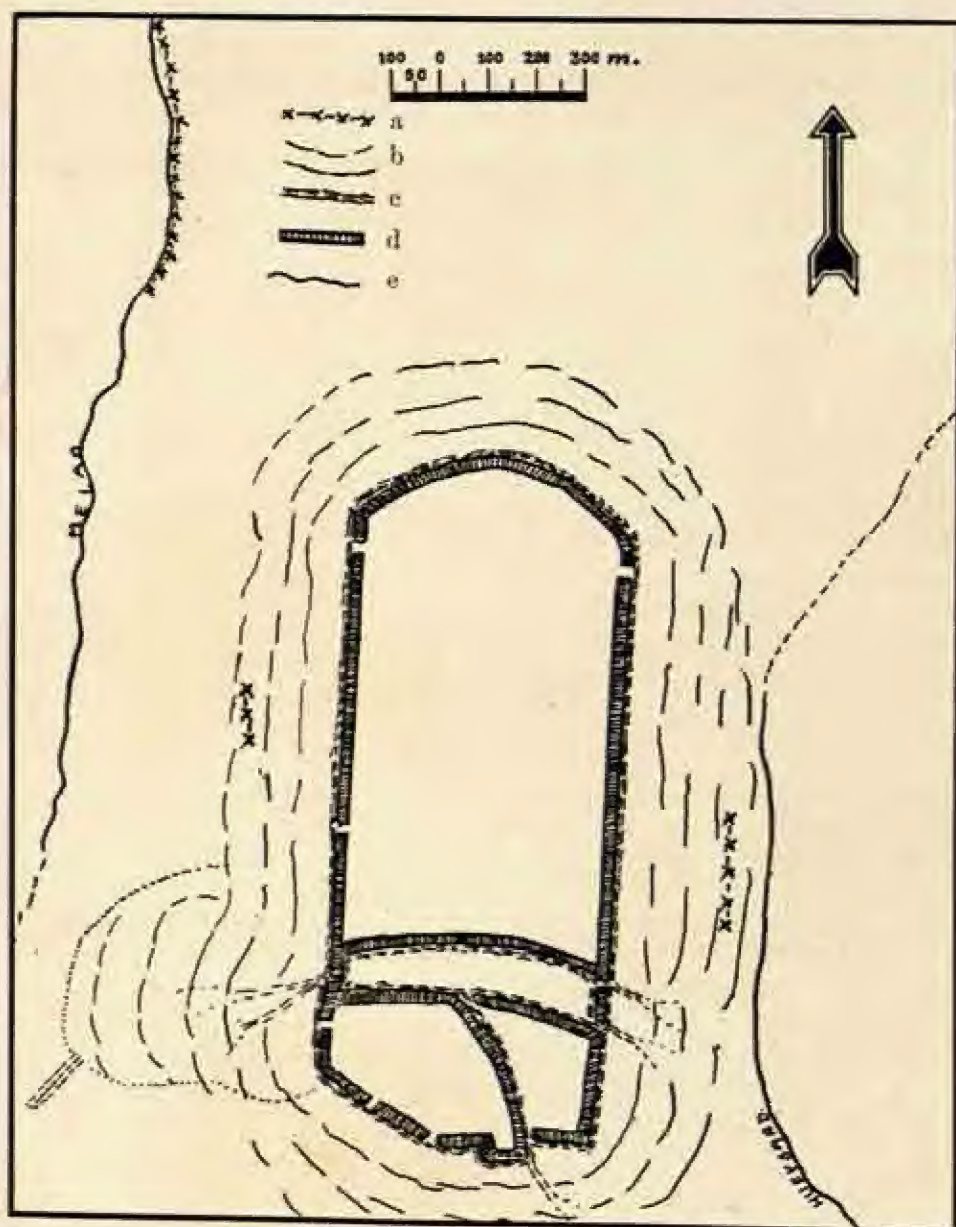
Although my method of working might not have been scientific, still I was able to decide definitely that at the lowest levels no specimens of Chinese pottery either prior to or contemporary of the Sung dynasty (A. D. 960-1280) were found. Those at the lowest levels, were almost all from C'alieng. At the upper levels, however, in some places such as at Lōpbūri, specimens of Chinese pottery dating from the Sung period were found intermingled with others in small quantities. When coming to within 20-30 centimetres of the surface there were some specimens of Chinese pottery of the Ming period (A. D. 1368-1644). This evidence goes to prove that prior to or during the Sung dynasty the Tai people made pottery themselves, but seemed to have ceased doing so during the middle of the Ming period. As regards purely Tai pottery, broken examples coming from Sūkhot'ai were found mixed in large quantities with those from C'alieng in the upper levels. These disappeared later on and a hybrid form took their place. This hybrid form still retains the Sūkhot'ai design, but the clay, shape and method of baking are those of C'alieng. Excavations undertaken in the vicinity of the kilns of C'alieng brought to light examples of decorated pottery, but instead of monochromes or of thick translucent enamels a thinner enamel was used. This causes me to lay down as a premise that this pottery was produced at three periods, or at the three different factories. I have already mentioned the C'alieng and the Sūkhot'ai factories, it seems to me that when work ceased at the C'alieng kilns, potters from Sūkhot'ai established themselves at the C'alieng site, and these latter works are what I shall call the kilns of Sātē'analāi, which is the name of an old state which we now called Sāwānk'ā-lok. This gives us as regards date the following sequence: first C'alieng, then Sūkhot'ai, followed later by Sātē'analāi. Although the Sātē'analāi kilns were worked by potters from Sūkhot'ai, the finished products as regards clay, glaze or finish were superior to the products of Sūkhot'ai. This division will help us to come to an understanding of the age of each of these kilns (Plates VI to XI).

Excavation carried out at Sūkhot'ai to a depth of over 3 metres reveals the fact that the lower layers of pottery found were of ordinary baked clay, the middle layer contained those of C'alieng, and the upper ones were of pottery manufactured in Sūkhot'ai itself. However I have not been able to find in the C'alieng factories any specimen, perfect or broken, of Sūkhot'ai pottery. This would seem









Approximate Plan of Kalōng.

a. Kilns; b. Slopes of hill; c. Moat; d. Walls; e. Watercourses.

to prove that the C'alieng kilns existed prior to those of Sākhōt'ai. The latter used utensils of C'alieng, but C'alieng did not obtain any supplies from Sākhōt'ai, probably because the C'alieng article was superior both as regards clay and finish. This evidence of the existence at Sākhōt'ai of baked clay pottery unglazed which is not found in C'alieng, leads me to believe that Sākhōt'ai must have been in existence prior to C'alieng.

### 3.—THE KALONG KILNS.

I have come across a few specimens of pottery (Plates XII to XIV), some broken, some perfect in form, obtained from Tung Yang in Uttarādīt, from Lōpbūri and from Pong Tū'k. Examination proves to me that these specimens had not their origin either in China, Sākhōt'ai or Sāwānk'ālōk. Archaeological and historical records which have been so far considered would seem to show that the Tai people came south owing to the pressure of the Chinese, but there can be little doubt that the Tai people had spread themselves over a vast area to the north of the Mēlchong prior to the Chinese pressure on them. The locality which I wish to talk about now is in the modern province of C'ieng Rai, which is the northernmost province of Siam. I wrote to a friend there to obtain specimens for me, laying stress on the importance of their being dug up. Subsequently I received a cup, a salt cellar and a broken lamp, accompanied by a letter saying that these articles had been picked up in levelling a landing ground for airplanes. When I compared the clay and the enamel with other examples in my possession I was forced to the conclusion that pottery kilns existed in the north too, and I offered a reward to any one who could point out the site of the kilns. In February 1933 I received information that kilns had been discovered at Wieng Papāo. Broken pieces of pottery collected in the vicinity of these kilns were also sent to me. I took the opportunity to visit them. I started from C'ieng Rai, travelling by motor along the main road for 29 kilometres. There the road for C'ieng Rai branches off. I had now to use ponies and carriers because the country was intersected by hills. I came to Amp'ho' Mē S(r)uei at a distance of 26km. from the main road, and continued my journey to Wieng Papāo at a further distance of 31 kilometres. From the latter place I had to go south 15 kilometres, and then branching off to the left at a distance of a kilometre I arrived at the kilns. The general direct-



tion was SSW. from C'iang Rai. This place is about half way between C'iang Mai and C'iang Rai and if one travels with light loads the journey could be made in two days, or with heavy loads in four from either of these starting points. The site of the kilns had now been occupied by settlers from T'ung Man in the province of Lāmpang and they adopted the name of their old village for this settlement. The original name of this place was Khūa Wai, meaning the "Rattan Bridge", but I could not ascertain how far back the use of this name went. This village is in the commune of Hua Fai which bounds with Amp'ho' Čê Hōm in the province of Lāmpang. At no great distance from Hua Fai I found the site of an old town or an ancient fortified place on a hillock called Wieng Kalōng. This town has a width of about 400 metres but a length of 1.5 kilometres. A moat surrounds the town. The earth from this moat, which is about 6 metres deep and 5 metres wide was used for making the rampart which is high and broad. At the centre of its length, the town is bisected by two walls running parallel one to the other. Near this old town are found the remains of kilns at three places: first, on the banks of the Mênām Lao (a tributary of the Mékhong), scattered haphazard, are no less than 100 kilns within an area of a square kilometre; secondly, on the banks of the Huei Sat (a local stream), in Amp'ho' Čê Hōm, at a distance of over one kilometre from the above place there are found the remains of several kilns; and thirdly, at the foot of the hillock of Kalōng at a distance of about 2 kilometres from the first mentioned place more kilns are found built in line. In all these three sites, the shape of the kilns, the clay employed, the enamel and the decoration are in all respects similar. I was told that at a ruined town called Wieng Ho at a distance of about 8 kilometres from there, as well as in Amp'ho' Čê Hōm remains of kilns also exist. The examples of pottery given to me from these two places are the same as those from the Kalōng kilns. The kilns which I carefully examined are constructed in the following manner: the base or foundation is built with brick on level ground; the domes are somewhat in the shape of a turtle's back; the smaller ones are 2 by 3m., and the larger ones 4-5m. by 6-7m. The furnace which has its aperture in the front of the kiln occupies about one quarter of the depth of the kiln and is screened off by the erection of a low wall. Each kiln has several chimneys or passages in order to allow the smoke to escape. These passages are also used for looking into the



kilns to watch the progress of the baking and are similar in construction to those of Sūkhōt'āi (Plates xv and xvi). I am led to believe that the heat was never used at its full strength, such being regulated for half or less. At Sāwānk'ālok however although the kilns are of the same dome shape the chimney or smoke passage was placed at the bottom of the kiln. By this means the full heat of the furnace was retained (Plate xvii). There were no peeping holes or passages. Now with Chinese kilns the bottom is not level. It slopes. Its length is generally ten times greater than its width. The furnace is situated on the base of the kiln, the chimneys being on the top. All articles to be baked are placed in a clay box or receptacle, and I wish to emphasize that I have never seen Tai kilns constructed on this plan or Siamese pottery baked in this manner. None of the kilns I examined at Kalōng were intact, the domes having disappeared. These kilns were buried under an earth deposit of about one metre in depth, and big trees had struck their roots in the foundation. I had to excavate to uncover the kilns.

#### 4.—KALŌNG OLDER THAN C'IEŨG SĒN.

Collectors and investigators should endeavour to ascertain the age of the different specimens which come into their possession, otherwise they cannot know their value. It is generally accepted that Tai ware of Sāwānk'ālok is not older than 640 years, which synchronises with the alleged visit of Ramā K'āmbēng to China. This theory gained credence because people have been in the habit of using pottery of Chinese manufacture and because the remains of ancient kilns have been discovered only in Sūkhōt'āi and Sāwānk'ālok. I have now found the remains of kilns of great age situated in the north. On what authority then can it be said that some one brought potters from China and established them at Kalōng and its neighbourhood, or that Chinese potters fleeing from disturbances in China settled in this area? It is necessary to depend on the evidence of historical chronicles and memoirs in order to gauge the period. Even then it is difficult to find reliable data prior to the dynasty of Khūn C'ri Indrāditya, the liberator of Sūkhōt'āi, because stone inscriptions prior to that date have not been found. All one can fall back on is a few chronicles and stories which have been handed down from ancient times. This necessitates the selection of those portions which are in agreement with the main features of the histories of

neighbouring countries. What I am about to say therefore may not agree entirely with the statements recorded in certain histories and articles and I leave it to you to exercise your judgment to arrive at the truth.

5.—THE AGE OF C'IEŢG SĒN (about 7th century A. D.)

It is stated in the *Lāk T'ai*, (by Nai Sā-nga Kanchanak-Phan B. E. 2472), that the Tai people originally had their habitat in the valley of the Yang Tse and the Hoang Ho which are now under the Chinese dominion. Nāk'ōn Pa and Nāk'ōn Lūng would seem to have been two independant Tai states in this territory. As time passed the Chinese pressed on them and the inhabitants migrated gradually south, coming eventually to a halt in what is now known as Siam. The important point is to ascertain when the Tai people came into this territory. An examination of a map will show that the city of C'iešg SĒn is situated at the most northerly point. It is a question of when that city was built. Little reliance can be placed on the accuracy of the dates given in chronicles referring to this place. For example in the school History (ประวัติศาสตร์-ภาคสุโขทัยและอยุธยา ฉบับใหม่โดยสมุหราชบัณฑิตยสถาน พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๕, p. 68), it is stated that in B. E. 1111 (568 A. D.) King Sīnhanavati built the city of Yonók Nāk'anāk'ōn. Three years later he waged war against the Khmers, drove them out of the city of Umōngk'āsela Nāk'ōn and from other Khmer cities in the north, and established his authority in their place. In the *Lāk T'ai*, p. 75, it is stated that a son of Khūn Bōrōm built Nāk'ōn Yonók C'iešg SĒn as his capital about B. E. 1299 (756 A. D.). I have made calculations based on the number of years which it is alleged that each sovereign reigned and taking into account the discrepancies in the dates as mentioned above, I have come to the conclusion that this city was built not earlier than the 7th Century of the Christian era. The reason of fixing with some accuracy this date is because it is connected with the use of pottery manufactured in the kilns of Kalōng near the Mēnām Lao. In old C'iešg SĒn, as well as at the site of a later C'iešg SĒn situated at the present-day headquarters of Amp'ho' C'iešg SĒn, and at C'iešg Khong, pottery from the Kalōng factory was used almost exclusively (Plate XVIII-XIX). I have not come across specimens of Chinese pottery prior to the Mīng dynasty (1368 A. D.) there at all. I have moreover examined the banks of the Mēkhong at old C'iešg SĒn and noticed broken



pieces of pottery at a depth of more than 2 metres. Which then is the older, C'eng Sên or that walled place called Kalông to the south, in the vicinity of which I collected many specimens of pottery? I assume that the latter was of an older origin, because its ramparts are of earth work, and also because of its vicinity to other old places, such as Wieng Ho, Đông Wieng, Muang Wang, and Cê Hôn, to which no date has been assigned in History. References are found in the *Pôngsawâdan Yonók*, pp. 124 and 435, which name the territories comprised within the old Kingdom of P'âyao. It is stated there that, in the first year of the Little Era which synchronises with 638 A.D., these four places were merely *p'annā*, a term of territorial division which may be compared in modern parlance to a *tambôn*. My theory about the age of Kalông and other old walled places in this vicinity would seem to find some support in the fact that specimens of pottery from these places have been found in the stûpa of Nák'ôn Pathôm, in the stûpa of the Great Relic in Lôphûri, and at Pông Tâk, which places no one will deny are older than C'eng Sên. Many Shans (related to the Tai stock) of an older generation whom I have met and discussed the problem with gave an unanimous opinion that the design and writing on this pottery were Tai Lu' which they could read although it was different to their own writing (Plate xx). The home of these Lu' is north of C'eng Sên centred around C'eng Rûng.

#### 6.—SITE OF C'ALIENG.

As to where the site of the ancient city of C'alieng really is, Prince Damrong in his commentary on the "Travels in the Prâh Ruang country," written by His late Majesty King Rama VI, came to the conclusion that C'alieng was situated in the neighbourhood of the monastery of the Great Relic in old Sâwânk'âlok. I do not think any one would care to argue against this, for Prince Damrong's statement is supported by the evidence of stone inscriptions. On the Ramâ Kâmbêng inscription (No. I in Cœdès' *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Première partie) it is declared that "a stone inscription has been erected with the stûpa of the Great Relic at C'alieng". This causes me to believe that although the two names of C'alieng and Ç(r)î Sâte'ânalai are distinct one from the other, the latter being situated a little further north near the Great Rapids (Kông Luang), still the two names have been applied indiscriminately to the same place in later days. Unless, therefore, these two cities were close



together, how could the two names have been mixed up? Furthermore another inscription (No. 10 in the *Recueil*) relates that Prince Phan, acting for the king, erected a Vihāra, with a frontage of nine pillars and other things in C'alieng, which by the way are still in existence. The Vihāra of "Prince Phan" is probably that Buddhist *bot* converted from a Hindu temple standing at a distance of about 400 metres from the stūpa of the Great Relic above-mentioned. This Vihāra is now known as "the *wāt* of Prince Chan", which I believe is a corruption from "Phan". I am also inclined to think, by way of a parallel, that the word 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸 (t'alieng) or 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀓 (t'ārien), applied to certain of the kilns, probably had its origin in the word 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸 (C'alieng). The building of the new city (Sāte'ānalāi) two kilometres to the north was probably rendered necessary by the falling in of the banks of the river and with them of certain portions of the old city, as is evidenced by the state of the stūpa of the Great Relic which has only been saved from falling into the river by artificial means. If one compares the archaeological remains of the two cities, such as Wāt C'ang Lôm and others within the city walls, erected in the time of Rāmā K'āmhēng, with such wāts as Wāt Palan situated outside the walls near the kilns, great differences in their state of preservation are discernible. Those buildings on the presumed site of C'alieng have crumbled away, a wall being left here or there or even only the foundations which in some cases have become mounds of earth; whereas the later buildings in the city of Sāte'ānalāi are in a comparatively well preserved state. An exception should be made of the stūpa of the Great Relic which has been so frequently repaired and built over that it is difficult to ascertain its original form. Moreover broken pieces of pottery and images of the Buddha found in these two places show strongly marked differences, in fact so strong as to prove all the more that the two cities are of a different age. The pottery produced at the C'alieng kilns improved in quality as time passed, because the potters who originally used ordinary clay developed in time a clay mixture and finally used a fine pure white clay making pottery of some opacity closely akin to porcelainous stoneware (Pl. XXI-XXV). To sum up then, a city was built on a new site and was known as C(r)ī Sāte'ānalāi. Having located the site of C'alieng let us now ascertain the date of its construction.

## 7.—DATE OF C'ALIENG.

In the absence of reliable data as to the age of the Kingdom of C(r)i Sātē'āualāi, I shall, until conclusive proofs to the contrary be forthcoming, base my calculations upon the data given by the *P'ōngsawāden Yonōk* in conjunction with the evidence of ceramics. This authority states (pp. 62, 65-66) that after this kingdom had been founded and ruled over by three generations of sovereigns, King Abhayagāmini had a son called Prāh Ruang, who while on the throne disappeared in the rapids of Kēng Luang just outside the town in B. E. 1200. The Kingdom had at this time been in existence for 157 years. By a simple means of calculation it would seem that the city was founded in the year 1043. This date is further supported by a fact in the *P'ōngsawāden Yonōk* towards the end of the book that in this year Pāya Kalavanādis, King of Lāvo, sent Prāya Palārat up to govern Sūkhotāi. This act on the part of the King of Lāvo may have been one of policy in order to guard the outer marches of the Kingdom owing to the southward movement of the Tai people who were at this time close to the northern frontier of his state. The name Prāh Ruang was a panegyric, indicating the final character of his word of command. It was also dynastic, somewhat akin to the use of the name Rāma by some Kings of Ayudhya and of the present dynasty. The date given for the foundation of the Kingdom (of C'alieng) conforms to the findings of Sir George Grierson who says (*Linguistic Survey of India*, part II, p. 59) that the Tai migrated south in the 6th century A. D. This is identical with the middle of the era of Nam Pak, when, according to Chinese historians, the Tai realm or confederacy of Ai Lao comprised six independent states, called by the Chinese, Mongsui, Iase, Langkong, Tongsiang, Silang and Mongse. Mongse was the leading capital (*Lāk T'āi*, p. 60); and was undoubtedly the city known as Nong Sē or Talifu. This agrees with the Tai chronicles of Mu'ang Mo (*P'ōngsawāden Yonōk*, p. 35) which says that in B. E. 1111, Khūn Lu reigned in Mu'ang Sē Luang and sent his sons out to found states, and it was during this time that Tagaung (in northern Burma on the Shweli river) was conquered by the Tai. The Hsenwi chronicle places on record that in B. E. 1274 Khūn Tūngkhām had two sons, Khūn Lu and Khūn Lai. Khūn Lu succeeded his father and sent his sons to rule over six states. In the Lan C'ang chronicle we find that the son of Khūn Bōrōm, the King of Thēng, named C'āiyāp'ōng or Sāip'ōng, sent a son to found the city



of Nong Sè but no date is given. The History of Burma (*P'ōngs. Yonōk*, p. 38) mentions that the Kingdom of Tagaung was conquered by Khūn Lu in B. E. 1111, during the reign of Thado Thammaraja, a Meng (*i. e.* Mōn) king of the Tasaraj dynasty. As the year B. E. 1111 synchronises with the dates given in the Mō and C'ieng Sēn chronicles as to the date of the foundation of Yonōk Nak'ānāk'ōn or C'ieng Sēn, so it is probably more accurate than the date given in the Hsenwi chronicle. During this period, commencing about the 8th. century, the Khmers were beginning to become a power and were extending the frontiers of their state, and had already brought under their subjection the kingdom of K'otrābun or Nak'ōn P'ānōm. The political condition of the time would seem to render it impossible for the Tai settlers to establish themselves and found cities, and therefore it may be assumed that the Tai had established themselves prior to the ascendancy of the Khmers. Thus, to sum up, the date of the foundation of C'alieng agrees with the Chinese records and was certainly before the Khmers becoming a power. Further support for this view lies in this fact that Haripuñjaya (Lāmp'un), which was founded in B. E. 1200, had walls constructed on a plan similar to that used by the architects of C'alieng (*P'ōngs. Yonōk*, p. 57). Fournereau, in *Le Siam Ancien* (p. 52, on map xx), marks the frontiers of the Tai state as contiguous to Sūkhot'ai then under Khmer authority. The people of the country were early Tai settlers. The title of Khūn Bōrōm might have been given to Khūn Lu in an honorific sense owing to his having extended Tai power throughout a great region and was probably given for the same reason as His late Majesty King Chulalongkorn who is known among us Siamese as P'rah P'ātt'āc'āo Luang.

#### 8.—DEVELOPMENT OF TAI CERAMICS.

Having established the date of the foundation of C'alieng we shall now try to trace the changes which took place in the method of the production of its pottery up to the time when it finally ceased. There is ample evidence to prove that there was much movement taking place among the Tai people caused by war and other reasons. An episode in the history of C'ieng Māi (*P'ōngs. Yonōk*, p. 212) would seem to give the clue as to how Tai potters came to be established in Sūkhot'ai. King Sēn Muang Ma of C'ieng Māi having died, a younger son named Sam Fāng Kēn succeeded him.



The latter's elder brother named Yi Kām Kam who governed C'eng Rai attempted to overthrow him by force of arms. He was defeated, and sought the help of the king of Sūkhot'ai. This monarch gathered together an army and marched on C'eng Mai. The fortune of the day was decided by a single combat between two champions appointed by the rival armies. Yi Kām Kam, the ally of Sūkhot'ai, lost the fight. The King of Sūkhot'ai then marched to C'eng Rai, the capital of his ally, and finding that the latter would be unable to live in peace with his neighbours, collected together the inhabitants and brought them down with their king to Sūkhot'ai. This happened in the year A. D. 1359. Inscription No. 8 (*Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Première partie), 3rd face, lines 9-23, records that the king conquered territories up to the Nam-buri, obtained much plunder and brought under his sway the country to the east up to the Pasak river, his frontiers touching those of Prāya Phakōng (พาคอง) of Nan and Phlua in the north and of Prāya Fa Ngūm (พญาฝาง) of Luang Prāb-hang in the east. This king of Sūkhot'ai eventually came to Song K'wē, the modern P'itsānūlok, and while here renovated the "Venerable Shrine of the Great Relic," planted a sacred Bô tree, stayed at this place seven years and then returned to Sūkhot'ai. This leads me to conclude that the potters of Kalōng and other places in the vicinity were brought down to Sūkhot'ai at this time by the king of Sūkhot'ai, who, according to the inscription, was C(r)i Sūriyap'ōngs Māha Th'āmmārac'a or Lit'ai. Further more, the kilns, the design, the enamel, and the shape of Sūkhot'ai pottery have some resemblance to those of Kalōng. From the researches of Professor Beyer in Luzon and the Visayas, in the Philippines, and from the writings of Walter Robb, it is clear that undecorated monochrome pottery (from C'alieng), have been found dating from the 13th. century of the Christian era; whereas decorated polychromes date from the 14th. and 15th. to the 16th. centuries.

I would crave indulgence from my readers for digressing from the subject of this paper in order to elucidate a point in history which I feel bound to raise an objection to an established fact. The point I am about to speak of has a bearing on this paper in so far as it is connected with a date. Authorities on the subject of Siamese History have hitherto reckoned King Lit'ai, the fifth of the Prāb Ruang dynasty as Th'āmmārac'a I.; but I have numbered him second in this

paper for reasons which have been set forth in another note which I have submitted to the Society. I would therefore ask my readers to envisage the fifth king as Th'ammārac'a II.

Dating from A. D. 1359, pottery from Sūkhot'ai began to compete in foreign markets with those from C'alieng, notably in the Philippines. A comparison of the pottery from these two factories shows that the products of Sūkhot'ai were more easily manufactured than those of C'alieng because ordinary clay was dug up in the vicinity of the kilns. This clay was only mixed with crushed stones of just sufficient quantity to enable it to bear the heat of baking. The potters of C'alieng on the other hand used a fine white chalky clay or decomposed rocks which had to be brought from a considerable distance and even now can hardly be found. The design on Sūkhot'ai pottery was painted on by applying paint to the surface; whereas in the case of C'alieng it was incised, and if several colours were required each one had to be applied singly in much the same manner as one applies paint to an oil painting. In Sūkhot'ai kilns heat of only half strength was used, whereas in C'alieng the heat was fierce. By examining broken fragments lying about in the precincts of the respective kilns, we would find that such fragments are more numerous at C'alieng and that the process of baking there must have been more troublesome. For these reasons Sūkhot'ai pottery, sold at a lower price than that of its competitor, naturally found a ready market, which eventually led to the kilns of C'alieng being closed down. At about this time too the capital was removed to P'itsānūlok, which fact may also have contributed to the decadence of C'alieng pottery.

The age ascribed by me to the Sūkhot'ai kilns is supported by historical evidence. Counting from A. D. 1359 to the conquest of Sūkhot'ai by the newly established Kingdom of Ayūth'āya in 1378, a period of 19 years had elapsed. It is a significant fact that there are no good pieces of pottery from Sūkhot'ai in the Ayūth'āya Museum, Sūkhot'ai pottery being only represented by a few broken specimens brought from that place within recent times; whereas specimens of the C'alieng or Sāte'analai period abound. This might have been due to the cessation of commercial relations between Ayūth'āya and Sūkhot'ai owing to political conditions. In places so far apart, however, as the Philippines, Java, K'orat, and P'ānat'sānīk'ōm (in the province of C'ōnbūri) good and broken specimens of Sūkhot'ai



ware are found; while in P'itsānūlok those of Sāte'ānalāi predominate especially in monasteries which were erected after the transference of the capital to that town. I am therefore led to believe that there is no great error in the dates I have adopted.

Supposing that the pottery was manufactured from the time of the foundation of C'ālieng in A. D. 500 and continued up to A. D. 1374 when the place was deserted, the duration of its manufacture would cover a period of 874 years; and, if we wished to ascertain the age of this pottery up to the present day, then a period of 560 years must be added on, giving a total period of 1434 years since its first production. As regards the Sākhot'ai kilns, if we accept as a fact that they were constructed by the potters brought down by King Th'āmmārac'a II., in A. D. 1359 then these kilns were only producing for about 15 years, because it would seem that Sākhot'ai was conquered by Ayūth'āya about that time. The age of Sākhot'ai pottery up to the present day therefore would be between 575 to 560 years. As I have already stated, Sāte'ānalāi took the place of C'ālieng, and, for the purpose of this paper, Sāte'ānalāi ware was first produced in A. D. 1374 after the C'ālieng kilns had ceased to work. These kilns continued to put out pottery up till A. D. 1446 when P'āya Yāt'itsācieng (*i. e.* Yuddhisthira, the title of the vassal chief of C'ālieng under Ayūth'āya) took all the population to C'eng Māi. Although it is not stated that the potters were included, it is probable that they went with him. This gives a period of 72 years, during which this particular ware was produced. The age of this ware up to the present time would therefore be between 560 and 488 years. Turning again to the Kalōng kilns, and supposing that they had been producing at the time of the foundation of C'eng Sēn in A. D. 568 or A. D. 756 and continued working up to A. D. 1359 when they were presumably brought down to Sākhot'ai, they would have been producing for 791 or 603 years, their ages up to today being reckoned at 1366 or 1178 years.

The reason for my assuming that C'ālieng pottery was first manufactured about the time of the foundation of that city is because I have not come across any specimen of utensils such as jars, bottles, cups, dishes etc., made of pure clay in the precincts of Sawānk'ālok. Specimens however of this type of pottery have been found in localities believed to have been in existence before C'ālieng such as Tāng Yang in Uttārādīt, Sākhot'ai, Nāk'ōn P'āthōm, or Lōpbūri.



The utensils I refer to are of ordinary baked clay and not glazed. Lying above this kind of earthenware, pottery of a crude and rough type made in C'alieng have been found. There is another point which has brought me to conclude that C'alieng was in existence from ancient times (approximately B. E. 1043 or A. D. 500) and that is that I have found votary tablets with the representation of a stūpa impressed on them instead of the usual image of the Buddha (Pl. XXVI), and also because the pottery deposits lay at a great depth (Pl. XXVII).

As to my reason for assuming that the Sātē'ānalāi kilns ceased when the inhabitants were led away to C'iang Māi by P'āya Yuddhiṭṭhira, that was based on the evidence of Dr. Beyer's researches in the Philippines which showed that no pottery of that type was ever imported into those islands in the 16th. century of the Christian era. Besides, two kilns have been discovered in Sātē'ānalāi some 15 years ago which were full of pottery. One of them contained many perfect specimens; whilst in the other every article was broken to pieces. It is evident in this case that when baking was completed the kiln was closed up to cool in the customary way and was never re-opened, perhaps on account of the sudden removal of the inhabitants to C'iang Māi mentioned above. Upon being re-opened, therefore some centuries afterwards the sudden impact of air might have caused the wholesale breakage. The first kiln probably had some leakage through which it was always kept in communication with the outside air.

I have also tried to find out whether these people took up again manufacture when settled in C'iang Māi, but I have not been successful in locating any kiln in that neighbourhood which yielded debris of either Kalōng or Chinese origin. The kilns of Kalōng, again, could not have been attributed to settlers from the south, for the manner in which designs of southern manufacture developed seems to point to a northern origin, and not the other way round (Pls. XXVIII-XXXIII).

#### 9.—TECHNIQUE OF EACH TYPE.

Tai pottery embraces every field of utility, in which such a material could be used. They include utensils, cups, dishes, large and small jars, lamps, bottles, powder and wax pots, toys, dolls, animals, ornaments, Nāga heads, balusters, canopies, elephants, lions,

ogres, as well as roofing and paving tiles, pulleys and images of the Buddha (Pls. XXXIV-XXXVII). These articles vary in size from the smallest about the size of the thumb to the largest which a man may encircle with his arms.

For the purpose of a general survey the following characteristics of the respective kilns should be noted:—

The kilns of C'alieng use *grand feu*, thick enamel of any kind and colour; without glaze or slip, whatever shine noticeable as resembling celadon being due to moisture resulting from the great heat in the process of baking. In the case of polychromes each colour would be applied separately or else painted on to the paste. This kiln has consequently produced only the following varieties of pottery: (a) plain glaze, (b) those with designs incised, (c) those with designs painted direct on to the paste, (d) those with designs separately painted on in different colours, (e) polychromes or glazed monochromes with designs incised or moulded on to the paste (Pl. XXXVIII a,b,c,d,e).

The kilns of Kalông employ either *demi grand feu* or *petit feu*, with slip and glaze, thick enamel, painted on to a previously incised surface. No carving or moulding as in the case of C'alieng has been noticed. Their products fall therefore into either of the following categories: (a) plain glaze applied direct to the paste, (b) plain glaze on a slipped surface, (c) glaze on an incised surface, (d) glaze on a surface which had been already treated with slip and then painted with designs, (e) thick glaze on a polychrome surface on which each colour had been separately applied (Pl. XXXIX a,b,c,d,e).

The kilns of Sakhot'ai employ *demi grand feu* similarly with those of Kalông, but as the clay was inferior, slip had to be employed. The varieties found are: (a) glaze on a slipped surface (Pl. VII), (b) designs painted on or stencilled on to the slipped surface and then glazed (Pl. XXIX), (c) designs painted on to the paste before the application of glaze (Pl. XL and XLI).

The kilns of Ç(r)i Sātē'analai employ *grand feu* as in C'alieng. It would seem however that the heat could not have been equally great or else the duration of baking could not have been the same, for in this case we find specimens either excessively baked within a short duration so that the black enamel is blurred into a reddish colour, or insufficiently baked, so that it is not sonorous owing to the clay having insufficiently evaporated and tends to lose its glaze



easily owing to internal moisture. The varieties are: (a) designs sketched out on a slipped surface and then treated with coloured glaze (Pl. XLII a), (b) designs on a slipped surface and then glazed all over (Pl. XLII b), (c) designs painted or stencilled on a slipped surface and then treated with coloured glaze (Pl. XLII c), (d) plain enamel and transparent glaze on an unslipped surface (Pl. x).

As to the colours employed in enamel they range from black to yellow, grey, greyish green, white and brown. The Kalōng kilns have in addition an emerald green which have been baked in *petit feu*, whilst those of Sūkhōt'āi only use opaque white and light straw colours. It would seem from this enumeration that the range of colours was small but, as a matter of fact, it was by no means so, for each colour could be again divided into its degrees of shade. What I have classified under yellow for instance would include a cream shade, a light yellow, an orange shade, a dark yellow and the various shades of brown. I have collected fragments and made comparisons of their colours and found that some 27 shades could be distinguished (Pl. XLIII).

The products of these kilns are what I call Tai Sānk'ālok ware. There are details which I do not think need to be gone into here such as the different kinds of earth used in the respective kilns, the methods of baking and the designs (Pls. XLIV-XLVI). Should any one care to go into details about this feature I shall only be too glad to try and discuss with him on another occasion for I do not wish to bore my general readers.

#### 10.—COMPARISON WITH CHINESE CERAMICS.

There is one more point of importance which I believe may be of interest, that is the difference between Tai and Chinese ware. I propose to give you a brief comparison of the two based upon my own observation as follows:

1. In the manufacture of vessels with narrow necks, the Chinese article bears a ring of joint inside the body; while the Tai has none, however narrow the neck may be.

2. Chinese articles of the Tang and Sung dynasties were usually turned out in moulds, and not hand-made as is the case with Tai articles. I have never come across Tai ware made in pairs of identical size and shape at all—a practice so common with the Chinese.

3. In the incision of designs, it is almost always the case that the



Chinese artisan places his tool in a slant leaving a line which is deep on one side and shallow on the other, while Tai vessels bear marks of either a triangular or a rounded point of a chisel applied evenly to the surface.

4. The colouring known as Lung Ch'itan or Celadon as found on Chinese articles is hard and opaque, whilst that on Tai articles is softer but is very shiny and transparent. An exception should be made with regard to Chinese ware of the Ming dynasty which is shiny like those of the Tai. I shall state my view of the wherefore of this feature later on.

5. Crackles in the texture of some Chinese articles were purposely made, whereas with Tai wares they were results of wear and tear. Consequently Tai articles in constant use have more crackles in their texture.

6. With the exception of inferior products, the handle of a Chinese ware is formed in a circle; whilst in a Tai ware the circle is never completed. Exception to this rule may be found at Kalōng where handles resembling those of Chinese ware are found attached on smaller articles. Bigger ones have handles in the form of a knob.

7. The Chinese method of drawing patterns, even in the beginning of the Ming period, seems to have consisted of a preliminary linear sketch followed by the application of paint. Thence the theory advanced by many authorities that they were copies of existing patterns. The Tai however drew their pattern in paint without any preliminary sketches, in the same way as the Chinese did in later periods.

8. The majority of Chinese ware bear factory marks and dates of manufacture, which are never found on Tai ware.

9. Chinese designs always include one or all of the emblems known as "the three felicities".

There are other points which may be gone into with no little interest, such as pin-holes, the colour of the biscuit or the paste, the overflow of enamel, the designs, the shape and so on, for pottery in China has a long history, better specimens being used as a source of inspiration and even copy. In Siam, on the other hand, no matter how old or comparatively well made an article may be, copying was never indulged in. The modern C'ieng Mái ware manufactured by Shans, though resembling somewhat that of C'alieng in colour, is not

intended to be a copy for neither the shape, design and material nor the method of baking are at all similar. It can never be mistaken for the old Tai ware except by the most inexperienced of collectors:

#### 11.—RELATIONS OF THAI CERAMICS TO THOSE OF CHINA AND JAPAN.

There is a matter connected with Tai pottery which I would like to mention. Mr. le May in an article published in the *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LXIII, nos. CCCLXVII and CCCLXVIII, *The Ceramic Wares of North-Central Siam*, describes the results of Dr. Beyer's researches. Dr. Beyer is of opinion that the Japanese having realised the value of Sānk'ālok ware sent ships to Luzon in the Philippines prior the xvth. century of the Christian era to take this ware to Japan. Then they copied the best types of it, producing pottery known as Shino, Karatsu, Sunkoroku, and Mishima. In another part of that article it is stated that some specimens, beautiful in design, have been dug up in the Philippines, which is an evidence that early attempts to copy Sānk'ālok ware on the part of the Chinese eventually led to the production of the pottery known as Celadon. From the Sung period to that of the Yuan there only existed articles with an opaque glaze, for it was only during the Ming dynasty that pottery with a transparent glaze similar to that of Sāwānk'ālok was produced in order to compete with Sānk'ālok ware and seize the markets of India as well as those of eastern and southern Asia. This theory of the development of Chinese Celadon from Sānk'ālok ware was formerly advanced by me among friends and fellow collectors but never found acceptance. After my visit to the Kalōng kilns and a further discussion of the subject with Mr. le May, the latter became prepared to admit that perhaps pottery made of rough clay without design might have been the handiwork of Tai craftsmen independent of Chinese influence. Then came this pronouncement of Dr. Beyer which made me realise that although the learned Doctor and I have never met, our respective observations lead after all, quite independently of one another, to the same conclusion, namely that the Chinese developed Celadon out of that Tai pottery which is now known as Sānk'ālok ware. Some time later I sent to Mr. le May a few specimens of what I found at Kalōng. I received a reply that they had aroused the interest of Mr. Hobson and that I should send him a more complete series



of that pottery for further examination. I would have gladly acted upon this suggestion had it not been for the fact that I still have need of them for my own investigations and his researches could hardly be complete unless the whole collection could be before him. I would suggest, therefore, that any of you who take an interest in the matter be good enough to lend a helping hand in taking note of these finds in order that they may be available to that savant. What he thinks of them would surely be interesting.

## 12.—TRADE IN TAI CERAMICS.

The trade in Sūkhōt'āi ware has been proved to have been extensive. Dr. S. W. Bushel, whose authority and pronouncements upon Chinese ceramics are accepted by all including the Chinese themselves, states that some thirteen generations ago the Chinese of the Sung dynasty produced only monochromes. Later, when the Arabs produced pottery with designs, such pottery came into favour, and the Chinese copied it. In another portion of the book, the Doctor says that this pottery was manufactured by the Arabs and exported from Martaban.

Now, in these early days of Sūkhōt'āi power, Martaban was the seaport of that Tai Kingdom. It seems but natural that the produce of the kilns of C'ālieng and Sūkhōt'āi must have been exported from this town, and perhaps also that of Kalōng. Besides, one of the names, current in the Near East, for Chinese celadons was *Martabani*, "The name", says Hobson, the Keeper of Ceramics in the British Museum, "is doubtless derived from the name of this port and applied to the Siamese as well as Chinese ware". As a proof of the prevalence of the use of a land-route, may be cited a common design found on this pottery of pack elephants. No connection with the gulf of Siam has been so far traced, for that part formed a different state, which was not altogether in harmony with Sūkhōt'āi.

Having established the identification of the so-called "Arab" wares of Martaban with those of the Tai kilns, I want now to indicate the extent of its trade. According to the British Museum guide to the Pottery and Porcelain of the Far East "Sāwank'ālok wares, especially the celadons, are found in Borneo and other islands of the East Indian Archipelago, in India, Persia, and Egypt. They were probably shipped at Martaban. . . . . an entrepôt of mediaeval trade." Arab, Persian and generally Islamic designs have been recognised



among Sānk'ālok wares, tending to show that the demand must have been sufficient to warrant the execution of foreign designs. Bushel, too, mentions that pottery dug up in Sumatra and the Philippines came from Martaban—a statement which has since found strong confirmation from the eminent American expert, Dr. Beyer, who has besides his scholastic qualifications the authority of being on the spot.

In connection with this method of deducing the age of pottery by comparing their texture and glaze, I would like to place on record a few facts which have come to my notice and may be used as a basis for this purpose. I have in my possession pieces of pottery, the age of which may be arrived at by comparing the clay and the glaze. I have for instance found in the great stūpa of Wat C'ang Lōm in Q(r)i Sāte'ānalāi a broken cover of a vase with a thick white glaze and another also of white glaze decorated with yellow flowers both being of the same type as C'alieng pottery (Pl. XLVII). Now Inscription I. tells us that the erection of this stūpa was commenced in 1285 and completed in 1291, the encircling walls occupying another period of three years. It is probable that these vases were placed in the stūpa between 1285 and 1291, which date is anterior to the visit to China of Ramā K'ānhēng (*circa* 1294). I have also found a large water jar glazed on its upper portion and a covered stoneware dish of black colour made of a mixture of clay and stone-composition of the kilns of C'alieng (Pls. XLVIII and XLIX). They were in a place in P'its-ān'ālok which is supposed to have been the site of a chapel erected in the time of Prince Prōm's rout of the Khmers and his subsequent foundation of this town in 1108 (A.D.). Examples of decorated ware from Q(r)i Sāte'ānalāi have been found in P'itsān'ālok by other people in places which date after the transference of the capital to this latter town, owing to the state having come under the suzerainty of Ayūth'īya. In Kalōng there have been found two urns of considerable beauty, one of which had a silver plate with an inscription dated B. E. 1764 (A. D. 1221), testifying to the level of workmanship already attained at that date. Glazed pottery must have been produced also at Lamung P'rāh Bang in olden days as evidenced by the two jars in my possession (Pl. L). It is clear that they possess characteristics differing from those found in other places for the glaze was brushed on before decorating and the handles are in the shape of the letter W. Moreover it is possible that pottery was manufactured in the

ancient city of K'otrābun, now identified with Nāk'ôn Pānôm on the Mēkhong river. Spittoons, dishes and pots have been found in Sākôn Nāk'ôn and Nāk'ôn Pānôm in considerable quantities. I have a water pot and a bottle, the shape of which and the method by which it was baked are peculiar, indicating nothing that suggests an origin in China or any other centre of manufacture so far known. They are distinct in themselves. This state of K'otrābun came under the Khmers in the Vith. century. I have in my house more than twenty types of Khmer jars and many more are known to collectors. The only feature of it which lays any claims to beauty is the shape (Pls. LI-LV). The decoration is not good and the glaze very inferior, for it cracks and breaks very easily. Khmer culture had its origin in India, and, as the people of that country used metal for the making of their utensils from olden times, the Khmers showed great skill in metal-work and produced articles of great beauty. The question arises as to whether the Khmers received from the Indians the potter's art, or were already accomplished potters before Indian culture began to have influence upon them. Khmer pottery has been found in large quantities in the provinces of Khūkhān, Sūria, Būrirām, and K'orat. In Lāvo (or Lōpbūri), however, only about three per cent. of the pottery found is of Khmer origin.

### 13.—CONCLUSION.

What I said may appear strange to those who have hitherto been interested in the subject, because I advance new theories, supported nevertheless by evidence. The theories are opposed in nearly all respects to beliefs formerly accepted as based on history. Although, on first examination, my views may seem somewhat revolutionary, still I put forward my opinion with the hope of arousing interest leading to further investigations the basis of which should be a meticulous comparison between Chinese and Tai pottery. I have in my possession examples of both, which are sufficient for the purpose of arriving at a correct understanding. If it is true, as is generally accepted, that Chinese potters were established in ancient days in the Tai country, then it is but reasonable to assume that they would have applied methods in the making of pottery with which they had been familiar in their own country. When the whole weight of evidence is opposed to the generally accepted belief in any matter it is but right that the investigator should state frankly what is



in his mind in order that the question may be decided according to reason. Those who read this paper are at liberty to form their own conclusion. I presume however that they will not be too much influenced by the theories of savants, but rather decide for themselves by taking into account that evidence which I place before you in the form of actual pottery. There is a (Siamese) proverb which says that being told ten times is not equal to seeing, seeing ten times is not equal to touching, and touching ten times is not equal to experience.

It would have been a source of pleasure to me to have read this paper to members of the Siam Society at your 'home', and I regret that I have not been able to do so. The factor which prevents my appearing before you there is that, to have its full value and be really understood, the paper must be supported by evidence in the form of specimens of pottery of different types and periods. This would have necessitated my carrying to the Society's home a large number of samples. I therefore decided that I would give the Society the benefit of my investigation in this paper which I ask to be printed in the *Journal*, at the same time asking members to accept an invitation to my house for the purpose of looking at the examples in my possession. I may be permitted also, I hope, to record my thanks to the friends who have kindly translated it into the English language, also to the gentleman who has been kind enough to undertake to read that translation now to you.





Sketch map showing the position of Kalong.





Translucent celadon glaze  
Cup (2 x 5 in.)







Translucent celadon glaze  
Covered jar (13 x 10 in.)







Translucent celadon glaze  
Spittoon (5 x 7 in.).





Translucent celadon glaze  
Bottle (6 x 5 in).





Pl. v.



Translucent celadon glaze  
Covered jar (11 x 10 in.).







Specimen of Calieng Period  
A covered celadon jar (6 x 6 in.).





Specimen of C'alieng Period  
Celadon jar (10 x 10 in.)





Pl. vm.



Specimen of Sūkhot'ái Period  
White glazed dish (4 × 8 in.)







Specimen of Sākhōt'āi Period  
White glazed dish with black designs under the glaze.





Specimen of Sate'analai Period  
Dark brown gourd-shaped bottle, translucent (4 x 5 in.).



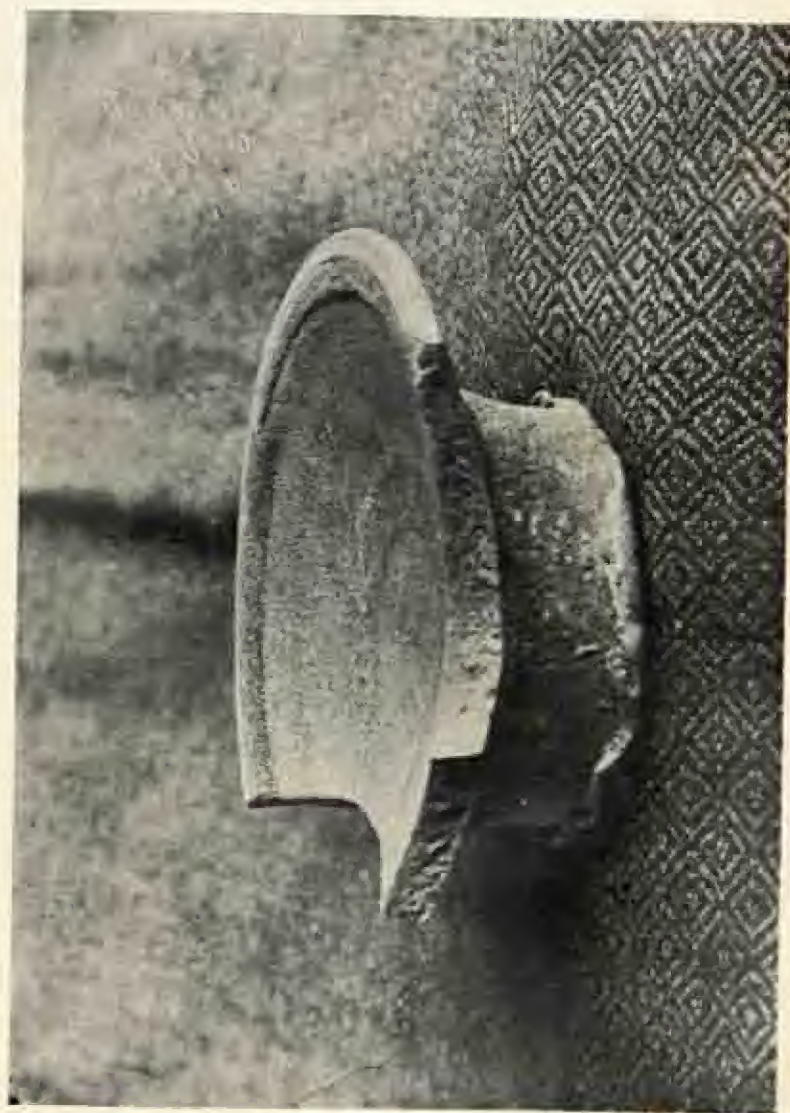




Specimen of Sate'analai Period  
(Covered jar, white slip, black designs, then glazed (5 x 4 in.))







Salt cellar glazed in buff (1 x 3 in.) from Lőpbari,





Bonbonnière, vitreous grey glaze (3 x 5 in.),  
from Lôphûri.



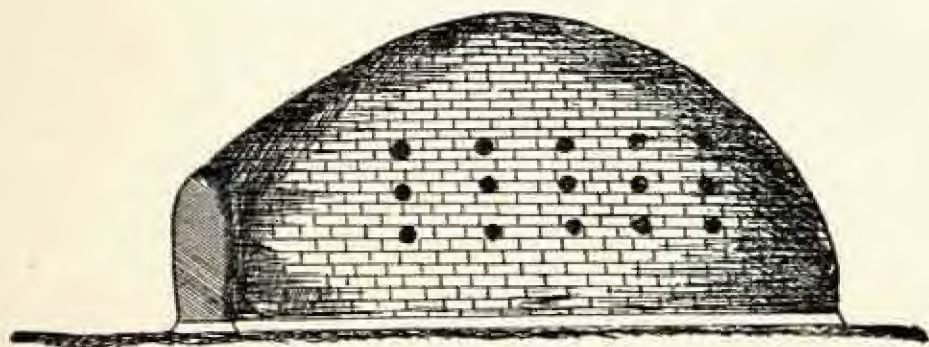




Bottle, translucent glaze, buff colour (2 x 2 in.)  
from 'T'ung Yang.

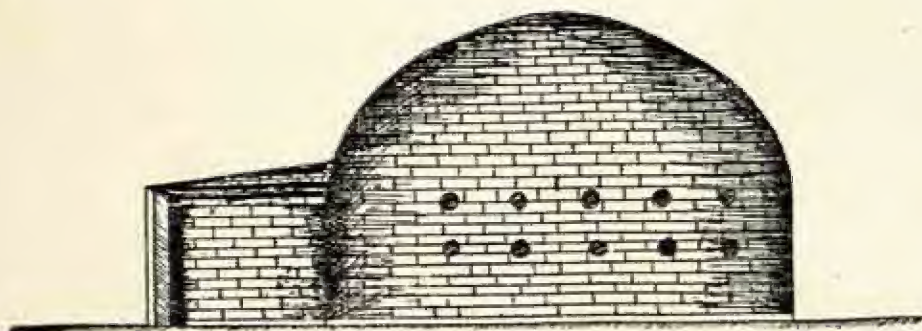






Kalong kiln,

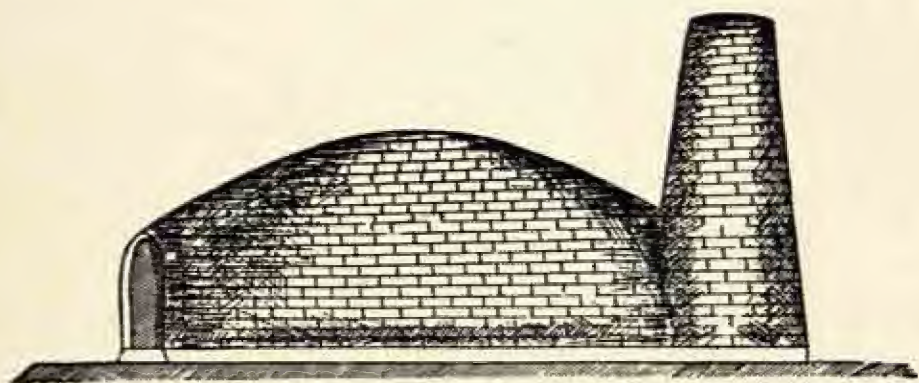




Sakhot'ai kiln.







C'alieng and Sate'analai kiln.







Bottle from Kalong (4 x 3 in.)





Kalong Jar (14 x 11 in.) found in  
Chieng Sen.





c

b

a



Statues of the Buddha (Kalóng)

a and c (6 x 4 in.) of celadon.

b (8 x 4 in.) green glazed, inscription in Tai Lu characters reading "Sophito chao"  
i.e., the 8th of the former Buddhase.







(2 x 5)

(2 x 4)

Made of clay, glazed inside in white and sepia respectively, illustrating  
an early specimen of C'alieng ware.





(3 x 5)



(3 x 5)

Clay mixture, one on the left glazed in brown, the other half coladon, illustrating the next stage of development in C'aling ware.







(4 x 14)

Stoneware, thick white enamel, black designs in relief,  
illustrating a third stage of development.







(4 x 6)

Stoneware stand, celadon, decorated inside as well  
as outside, third stage of development.





(3 x 6)

Translucent celadon stoneware,  
Illustrating the final stage of development, *i.e.* a  
fine pure white clay.







Baked votary tablets depicting stūpas.







Section of the river bank at the monastery of the great Relic, C'aling.  
From *b* to *a* only monochromes have been found; whilst above *b* polychromes  
(*i.e.* Sate'analai) have been met with.





Designs on Kalong ware.



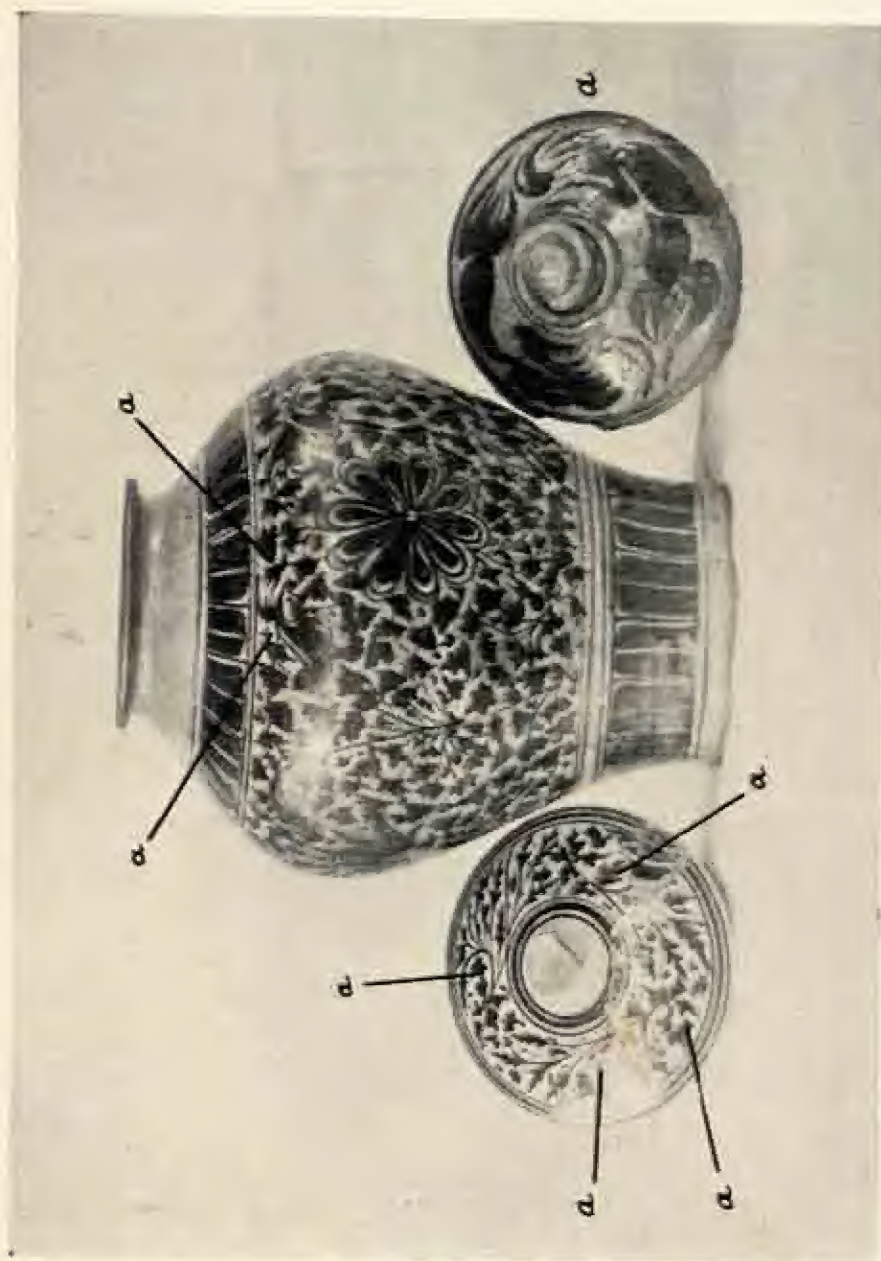




*a* *b* *c*  
 A comparison of the application of a similar designs from the kilns of Kalóng (*a*),  
 Sukhot'ai (*b*) and Sā'cāulāi (*c*).







A water jar of Sate'analai, with designs characteristic of Kalong (marked *a*) proving that Kalong still influenced the South.





a. Sôkhot'âi.



b. Sate'amalai.

To illustrate the development of an identical design.





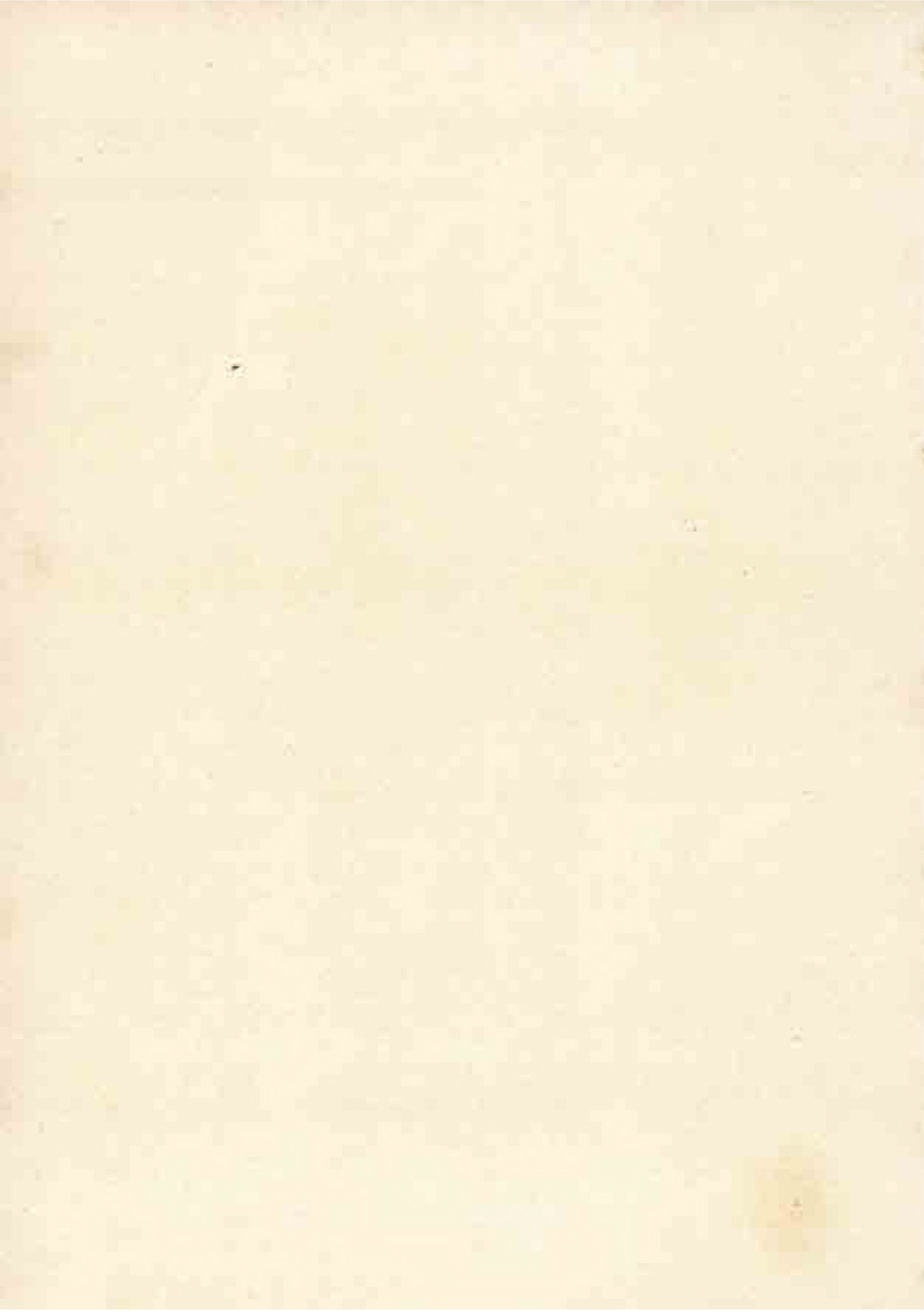


a. Sakho'ai.



b. Sate'analai.

To illustrate the development of an identical design from *a* to *b*.







Dish of white glaze and black designs from among the debris of a Sāte'ānalāi kiln. Owing to its shape, design, and method of baking being those of Sūkhot'āi, while its material Sāte'ānalāi, it has been thought that it might have been an early product of the re-establishment of the kiln at Sāte'ānalāi after its transference from Sūkhot'āi.





Building accessories.







(14 × 6)

Decoration of gopura, white glaze, brown  
design, from C'alieng.







A Yakṣa head (18 x 16), probably a door-guard, white glaze, brown designs, from C'alieng.





A. Nāga-head (18 × 6) for eaves, white glaze,  
brown design, from C'alieng.







Calieng ware

A lump (6 x 5) brown undecorated glaze.





C'alieng ware

Water jar (14 x 12) yellowish green glaze, incised designs.

Shape different from Kalong ware.







C'alieng ware  
Jar (3 x 5), brown designs on paste.





C'alieng ware

Vase (6 x 5), unglazed, white decorations on brown slip.







C'alieng ware

Covered jar (7 x 16), stoneware, designs in white relief on a  
yellowish green surface, unglazed.





a

Kalōng ware  
Covered cup (3 x 2), glazed.







(7 x 4)  
d



b-c

Kalông ware



(8 x 5)  
d

Bottles illustrating types *b* and *c* (centre) and type *d* (on either side).





Kalong ware  
Water-jar (16 x 12), body in black, whilst mouth  
is in white glaze.







Sûkhot'âi ware

Mortar (5 x 8), black designs printed on white slip and then glazed.





Sākhōt'āi ware

A Nāga head (21 x 13) black designs on white slip, then glazed.

Note the double head indicating the idea that one Nāga (i. e. the lower one) was so powerful that he emitted another. The motif is still to be found on stairs in temples in the North, but has never been detected in Chinese art.







Săte'analăi ware

Covered stoneware jar (4 x 5); black designs on a slipped surface then treated with light green glaze.





Sate'analai ware  
Water jar (17 x 7), stoneware, black design  
on slip and then glazed.

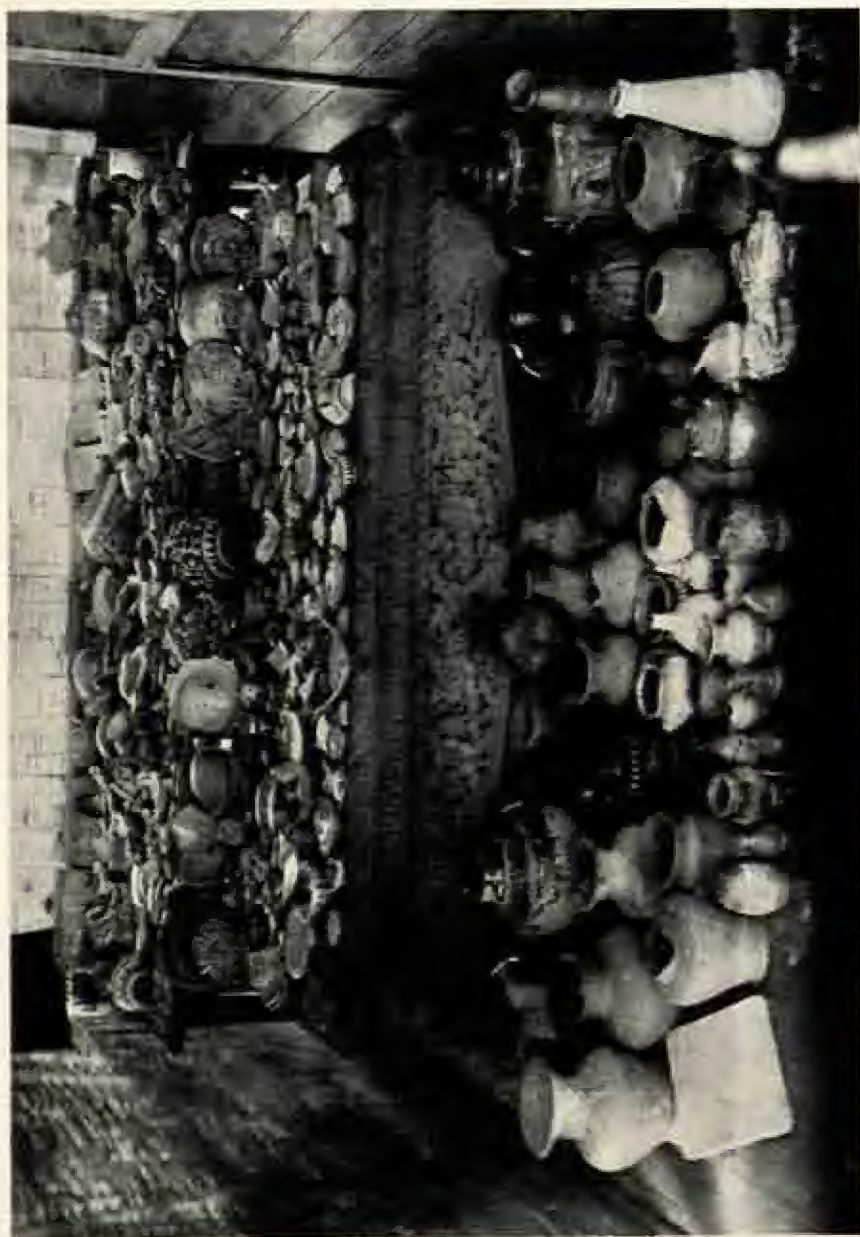






Sate'analai ware  
Water jar (6 x 5), stoneware, black design, glazed.





Fragments of different colours.







Method of baking, C'alieng, primitive.





Method of baking, Kalông, a development of the pontils.







Method of baking. Sūkhot'ái, bigger pontils





Broken covers of jars from a Chedi built by Ramā K'āmlhāg (about 1285-1291). Ch'alieng period.







Jar, glazed clay mixture (13 x 14), in sepia,  
from P'itsanulok.





Covered dish (4 x 5), C'alieng period, found at P'itsánflok. The material is a peculiar mixture that is harder and heavier than stoneware.







Water jar (24 x 18), thought to have been made at Luang P'ráh Bang.





a. (2 x 3).

b. (3 x 3).

c. (3 x 3).

a. Yellow glazed bottle hardware found at Lōphōri.

b. Bottle, stoneware, brown glaze, from Sāt'ānālāi.

c. Bottle, brownish black glaze, from Nāk'ōn Rācāsima.

The Khmer jars on either side are different in shape and glaze to the Sāt'ānālāi one in the centre.







Water jar (19 x 10), brownish black glaze, found at Khon Kên.





Water vessel (9 x 5) brownish black glaze, found at Ç(r)i Tep.







Water pot ( $14 \times 10$ ) baked in *grand feu* till a dark brown colour was acquired and then glazed in brown, hardware.  
Thought to be a product of Nā'kôn Pānōm.





Bottle (6 x 3), brown glaze, hardware. Thought to  
be a product of Nakhon Phanom.





## NOTES AND QUERIES.

A PROPOS DE LA RELATION DU PÈRE GERBILLON  
ETDE SA LETTRE AU PÈRE GALARD DES 1<sup>er</sup> JUILLET ET 1<sup>er</sup> NOVEMBRE 1686.

Dans le *Toung Pao*, série II, vol. VII, (1906), pp. 437-468, Henri Cordier a publié cinq lettres du Père Jean-François Gerbillon, S. J., qu'il avait acquises de Charavay quelques années auparavant.

Les trois premières ont été écrites du Siam : la première, en trois fois, à Monsieur Gerbillon le père, les 5 et 18 juin 1686 et le 1<sup>er</sup> juillet suivant ; la seconde à Mademoiselle Gerbillon la mère, en deux fois, le 19 juin et le 9 décembre 1686 ; et la troisième, fort mutilée, à Monsieur Gerbillon le père, le 8 juin 1687.

Dans ces lettres, surtout dans la première et la troisième, le Père Gerbillon s'occupe principalement d'assurer aux relations et aux nouvelles qu'il envoie du Siam la plus grande diffusion possible parmi ses confrères et ses amis.

Dans la première lettre à son père, sous la date du 5 juin 1686, (H. Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 440), il écrit : " Je vous ay escrit fort amplement par le vaisseau qui nous a ammené icy et qui remène M<sup>r</sup> l'ambassadeur et ie vous ay envoyé une relation fort en détail de tout ce qui nous est arrivé depuis nostre depart de France iusques au iour que M<sup>r</sup> l'ambassadeur est parti."

Sur les mots " relation . . . depuis notre départ de France " Cordier a une note dans laquelle il renvoie au P. Sommervogel (*Bib. de la Cie. de Jésus*, III, col. 1347) qui écrit : " Michault dit avoir vu le manuscrit de la relation du voyage de Gerbillon jusqu' à Siam et prétend que l'abbé de Choisy en a composé la sienne : (Paris, Cramoisy, 1687, in-4) à laquelle il n'a fait qu'ajouter quelques ornements. Il en donne quelques fragments dans ses *Mélanges*



*historiques et philologiques*, T. I, p. 251-274 (Paris, 1754 ou 1770, 2 vol. in-12)." Plus loin, le P. Sommervogel cite le titre du manuscrit : *Relation du Reverend Pere Gerbillon de la Compagnie de Jesus eserite au bord de Loiseau, proche la barre de Siam, le 15 Déc. 1685, in-4, pp. 242 n. chif.*

Il ajoute : "Ce MS. se trouve dans la Bibl. des Jésuites de Lyon, relié avec différentes pièces et précédé d'une lettre autographe du P. Gerbillon sur papier de Chine, de 3 pp. gr. in-8, datée de Siam, 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1686. Elle semble accompagner le MS. du voyage qui n'est pas de la main du P. Gerbillon."

Le MS. dont il s'agit se trouve aujourd'hui et depuis quelques années, à la Bibliothèque Nationale Vajirāvudh de Bangkok (sans cote). Il a été acquis d'un revendeur de Londres si je ne me trompe.

Il compte en effet 242 pp. et le titre est bien celui que dit Sommervogel.

La lettre du P. Gerbillon, qui est montée sur un onglet en tête du volume, porte un timbre dont l'exergue se lit : *Soc. Jesu Domus Lugdunensis*. Comme le dit Sommervogel elle est écrite sur du papier de Chine. Elle est datée de Siam, 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1686, mais elle n'est datée du premier juillet que pour partie—deux pages et demi. Le 1<sup>er</sup> novembre, c'est-à-dire entre le premier départ, malheureux, du Père Gerbillon et le second, en 1687, elle a été rouverte à Siam, c'est-à-dire à Ayuthya, et augmentée d'une demie page.

Ce que ne dit pas le P. Sommervogel, ou tout au moins ce que ne dit pas Cordier, c'est qu'elle est adressée au Père Galard, S. J., le procureur de la province à Paris.

La relation elle même est datée du 19 décembre 1686 et non du 15 comme le dit à tort le P. Sommervogel. Comme l'Oiseau a quitté la rade de Siam le 22 décembre, le Père Gerbillon ne s'écarte pas beaucoup de la vérité quand il dit dans la lettre à son père que la relation s'étend jusqu'au départ de l'ambassade. Avec la lecture du P. Sommervogel il s'en faudrait d'une semaine.

Je n'ai pu trouver trace des différentes pièces qui d'après Sommervogel se trouvaient reliées avec la relation.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Je note à ce propos que la reliure souple, plein chagrin rouge, est moderne.

A la page 240, la relation s'arrête sur cette mention: "au bord de L'oyseau proche La barre de Siam le 17 (*sic*) decembre 1685."

Le bas de la p. 240, la p. 241 et le haut de la p. 242 sont occupés par le "Discours que Les six Peres Jesuites envoyez par sa Majesté Tres Chrestienne presenterent au Roy de Siam quand ils eurent audience de Luy." C'est la seule pièce qui soit annexée à la relation (il y en a d'autres dans le corps de l'ouvrage) et elle n'a pas été reliée avec la relation, mais écrite sur un même cahier.

Enfin Cordier (*loc. cit.*) relève la dernière remarque du Père Sommervogel: "Elle (la lettre) semble accompagner le MS. du voyage qui n'est pas de la main du P. Gerbillon." D'après notre lettre, (la première à Monsieur Gerbillon le père, sous la date du 5 juin 1686), objecte Cordier, le MS. serait parti au contraire dès décembre 1685.

Ni Sommervogel ni Cordier ne semblent avoir aperçu clairement la solution du petit problème bibliographique que pose la lettre au Père Galard.

Qu'entendait le P. Sommervogel quand il disait que la lettre (au Père Galard) "semble accompagner le MS. du voyage qui n'est pas de la main du Père Gerbillon"? Si Cordier cite exactement, il faut sans doute imputer au Père Sommervogel une imprécision de langage. Il voulait dire: (la lettre) semble *avoir* accompagné le MS. du voyage qui n'est pas de la main du Père Gerbillon. C'est ce que comprenait Cordier et, en effet, il est difficile de comprendre autrement. Donc pour Sommervogel: 1) bien qu'il ne soit pas de la main du Père Gerbillon, notre manuscrit a été établi au Siam; or, selon toute apparence, et surtout d'après la lettre au Père Galard, le Père Gerbillon ne disposait pas au Siam des services d'un copiste; 2) notre manuscrit a été expédié du Siam accompagné de la lettre du Père Gerbillon au Père Galard qui lui est préfixée aujourd'hui, par conséquent après le premier novembre 1686. Impossible, dit Cordier, et en effet, d'après la lettre I à Monsieur Gerbillon le père, une relation "fort en détail", qui ne peut être que celle de la maison de Lyon, (c'est-à-dire, aujourd'hui, celle de la Vajirāvudh), a été emportée de Siam par l'ambassade, le 22 décembre 1685. Toutes ces difficultés me paraissent illusoire. Sommervogel croyait que la lettre accompagnait la relation parce que, trompé sans doute par un examen superficiel ou un rapport inexact, il croyait que la relation dont il est question dans la lettre est la même que celle du MS. Or il n'en est rien. Gerbillon a envoyé à son père deux relations au moins, la grande



et la petite, d'une part, celle de 1685 et du début de la lettre du 5 juin 1686 à Monsieur Gerbillon le père, et, d'autre part, celle de la lettre au Père Galard et du milieu de la dite lettre à Monsieur Gerbillon le père.

C'est la grande relation de 1685, celle du MS. de Bangkok, qu'entendait Gerbillon quand il écrivait à son père au début de sa lettre du 5 juin 1686 (Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 440): "Je vous ay escrit fort amplement par le vaisseau qui nous a ammené icy et qui remeine M<sup>r</sup> l'ambassadeur et ie vous ay envoyé une relation fort en détail de tout ce qui nous est arrivé depuis nostre depart de France iusques au iour que M<sup>r</sup> l'ambassadeur est parti, et depuis ce temps la ie vous ay encore escrit au mois de mars dernier. ...."

C'est au contraire la petite relation, celle de 1686, où il était à peine question du Siam, que Gerbillon entend quand il écrit un peu plus avant dans la même lettre (Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 443): "Nous avons tout suiet d'esperer un succes favorable de nostre entreprise de la Chine ce que vous verrez bien par les dispositions favorables ou les affaires de la religion chrestienne sont dans ce royaume et par les marques eclatantes de bonté que l'empereur a donné a nos peres l'année passee et dont ie vous envoie une petite relation tirée des lettres que nous avons recenës icy depuis deux mois. J'ay adiouté a cette petite relation quelques remarques sur la maniere dont les Japponnois en usent a present avec les estrangers. J'avois dessein d'y joindre une petite relation de l'estat present du Royaume de Siam mais comme un de nos peres qui reste icy<sup>(1)</sup> s'est chargé d'en envoyer une a Paris ie me contenteray de prier le P. procureur de nostre province<sup>(2)</sup> de vous en envoyer une copie et de faire seulement quelques remarques sur la maniere dont se gouverne la cour de Siam."

Cela posé, il me paraît clair que le MS. de la Vajirāvudh est une copie faite en France, par plusieurs mains, d'un original dépêché par un des bateaux de Chaumont; 2) que la lettre au Père Galard n'a rien

(1) Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 443, n. 2, assure que ce Père est Guy Tachard. Il faut voir là l'effet d'une distraction, car le Père Tachard avait quitté le Siam à la fin de 1685, avec Chaumont, et n'y est revenu qu'en 1687, avec La Loubère et Cèberet. La lettre au Père Galard montre que le Père "qui reste icy" est le Père Lecomte. Sa relation "touchant l'estat present du Roiaume de Siam", qui d'abord devait être envoyée au Père Villemont, le fut, en fin de compte, au Père Verjus.

(2) C'est-à-dire le Père Galard.

à voir avec la grande relation de 1685. Si aujourd'hui, et au moins depuis le temps de Sommervogel, la lettre "accompagne" la mauvaise relation, la grande au lieu de la petite, c'est l'effet d'un "truffage" arbitraire.<sup>(1)</sup>

La petite relation de 1686 n'est pas le seul document dont il soit question dans la lettre au Père Galard. La lettre au Père Galard, en effet, est surtout destinée à régler la réexpédition des lettres envoyées dans le même paquet par le Père Gerbillon.

Les destinataires de ces lettres, au nombre de trois, étaient les suivants:

1) Monsieur Gerbillon le père. Sa lettre est le I de Cordier (*op. cit.*, pp. 440-448):

2) le Père Galard lui-même: "la lettre que je vous écris touchant l'état des missions de ces pays cy." J'ignore si l'on a la trace de cette lettre;

3) le Père de Haraucourt. Même remarque que pour (2). Le Père Gerbillon parle de cette lettre le premier juillet et le premier novembre.

Toutes ces lettres devaient être copiées et diffusées parmi les confrères et les amis de l'auteur, tout comme la "petite relation."

Enfin, à la date du premier novembre, le Père Gerbillon parle encore d'un "precis" de sa malheureuse navigation du mois de juillet qu'il adresse à sa mère et qu'il prie le Père Galard de faire ajouter aux copies qu'il fera faire de la relation (c'est-à-dire la "petite relation") que lui, Gerbillon, envoie à son père. C'est sans doute à ce précis que fait allusion le post-scriptum du 9 décembre ajouté par Gerbillon à la lettre à sa mère du 19 juin 1686, expédiée par une voie qui n'était pas la voie de France: "Je rouvre cette lettre pour y adjoindre ce que je vous ay déjà mandé par les lettres que je vous ay écrites par la voye de France: cest a sçavoir qu'estant parti pour aller à la Chine nous avons esté obligé de relascher des le 3<sup>e</sup> iour de notre navigation et de retourner icy. . . . . ." Le paquet du Père Galard devait donc contenir une lettre pour Mademoiselle Gerbillon la mère.

Outre ses propres lettres et sa petite relation, le Père Gerbillon mentionne encore dans la lettre au Père Galard: 1) la relation du Père Lecomte, dont il a déjà été question plus haut, touchant l'état

<sup>(1)</sup> J'ignore ce qu'est devenue la petite relation de 1686.



present du Royaume de Siam", et 2) la "relation ample", par le Père Fontenay, de la malheureuse navigation du mois de juillet 1686.

Il ne m'est pas facile, de Bangkok, de rechercher ces documents, dont je n'ai pas trouvé mention dans la *Bibliotheca Indosinica* de Cordier. Mais il n'est peut-être pas impossible de remettre la main sur eux.

Voici maintenant la lettre du premier juillet-premier novembre 1686 du Père Gerbillon au Père Galard.

(1) A Siam le 1<sup>er</sup> jour de Juillet 1686.

Mon reverend Pere

Pax Christi

Comme nous sommes sur le point de partir pour aller a Macao nous laissons entre les mains du P. Lecomte qui reste icy<sup>(1)</sup> pour les raisons que vostre Reverence apprendra plusieurs lettres pour estre envoyées par un vaisseau qui doit aller a Suratte ou a la coste de Coromandel<sup>(2)</sup> dans quelque mois et y arriver avant que les vaisseaux de la compagnie françoise en partent pour france de sorte qu'on nous assure que ces lettres arriveront en france au plus tard dans un an. j'adresse les miennes a v. R. et ie la supplie de les faire tenir a leur adresse. il y en a dans le paquet une plus grosse que les autres adressée a mon pere<sup>(3)</sup> elle contient les nouvelles que nous avons apprises de ces pays cy. ie l'ay laissé ouverte expres affin que v. R. la pût lire et la faire voir au R. P. Verjus s'il la veut voir et au R. P. Nyel auquel je prie v. R. de présenter mes tres humbles respects ie lui escriray de Macao quand ie scauray ce que nous deviendrons. Je la prie aussi de la donner au frere Godard auquel j'escriis d'en faire faire deux ou 3 copies pour les donner à v. R. aussi bien que de la lettre qui ie vous escriis touchant l'estat des missions de ces pays cy. que v. R. aura aussi la bonté de communiquer aux R. R. P. P. Nyel et Verjus apres que le f. Godard aura fait faire ces copies ou s'il ne le fait

(1) V. *suprà*, p. 40, n. 2.

(2) Le membre de phrase: "ou a la coste de Coromandel" a été ajouté dans l'interligne.

(3) C'est la première lettre de Cordier.

v. R. aura la bonté de les faire faire elle même et d'envoyer ensuite l'original a mon pere. elle montrera une des copies au P. Charenton s'il est au college, en luy donnant la lettre que de luy adresse dans laquelle ie le prie de faire faire deux copies de ces relations l'une pour estre envoyée au P. Fleuriau s'il n'est pas a paris et l'autre au P. le Gobien apres quoy Je supplie V. R. d'envoyer une copie de ces lettres et des autres nouvelles que ie mande au R. P. de Haraucourt dont l'envoye pour cela la lettre toute ouverte a V. R. d'envoyer disie une copie<sup>(1)</sup> au P. Matthieu ou au P. Delioncourt en les assurant de mes respects et priant celuy des deux auquel elle enverra cette copie de l'envoyer ensuite a l'autre et d'en faire part a ceux de ma connoissance qui se trouveront dans les mesmes (2) colleges qu'eux elle en enverra une autre copie au R. P. de Haraucourt lequel l'ay prié de la communiquer au R. R. P. P. Jobal<sup>(2)</sup> Des Daubenton Godinot &c. Si v. R. en a une copie elle aura s'il luy plaist la bonté de l'envoyer de ma part au Pere Barthelemy et comme iay mandé a mon pere d'envoyer copie de la relation<sup>(3)</sup> que ie luy envoie a quelques uns de mes amis Je supplie v. R. de lui faire scavoir ceux auxquels elle en aura envoyé. Comme ie suis persuadé qu V. R. conserve pour moy la bonté qu'elle m'a témoignée surtout pendant le temps que iay eu le bien de la voir a Paris et que ie compte beaucoup sur l'inclination qu'elle a d'obliger ses amis ie m'adresse hardiment a elle pour ces commissions sachant que le P. Verius a trop d'affaires. Je vous supplie aussi de voir de ma part Mr l'abbé de Choiseul de luy presenter mes respects et de l'assurer que je prie tous les iours Dieu qu'il luy fasse la grace de vivre dans sa sainte crainte et de devenir capable de rendre de bons services a son eglise. Je luy écriray quand ie seray arrivé a la Chine si Tr . . . . ier<sup>(4)</sup> est encore avec luy saluez le aussi de ma part il aidera volontiers a faire des copies des nouvelles que je vous adresse. Je vous prie

(1) Le membre de phrase: "d'envoyer disie une copie", a été ajouté dans l'interligne.

(2) Jobal, ici comme plus bas. Cordier a lu Lobal dans les lettres qu'il a publiées, mais dans la nôtre la lecture Jobal, par un J, est certaine.

(3) C'est-à-dire la "petite relation" de 1686.

(4) Le MS. a souffert en cet endroit, et je n'ai pas réussi à déchiffrer ce nom d'une manière certaine. Mais pour ceux qui connaissent le milieu des correspondants du P. Gerbillon il doit être facile de combler la lacune.



aussi de faire mes civilités a Mr et Me de Coissy quand vous les verrez et de saluer bien particulièrement de ma part Mr Ganterel en l'assurant que ie ne l'oublie pas dans mes prieres. Ne manquez pas aussi de faire part des nouvelles que ie vous envoie au P. Petit votre bon amis et de le saluer de ma part aussi bien que votre compagnon et le frere Cornu. Jay prié le P. Villemont de donner à v. R. une copie de la relation que le P. Lecomte luy doit envoyer touchant l'estat present du Roiaume de Siam elle aura la bonté de l'envoyer a mon pere et d'en faire part aux mesmes personnes auxquels ie lay prié de communiquer les nouvelles que ie luy envoie. Je ne mande rien de particulier a v. R. luy adressant mes lettres que i'escris ouvertes affin qu'elle les voye avant que de les envoyer, on m'a assuré que le P. Mottel ettoit encore vivant a la Chine c'est le seul qui soit en ces pays cy de notre province mais j'espere qu'il y viendra bientôt plusieurs autres pour avoir part aux grands fruits qu'on espere plus que iamais y recueillir particulièrement si les affaires s'accroissent du costé de Rome.

Je croiois avoir assez de loisir pour escrire un mot a plusieurs de mes amis dans la province mais l'incommodité qui est (3) survenuë des iours passez au P. Visdeloup joint a ce que le suis chargé de service de toutes choses pour notre embarquement ne m'ont pas donner le loisir que j'esperois avoir pour faire mes lettres ainsi quand v. R. écrira dans les college ou se trouveront pour lors les PP. Jobal Mattieu de Lyoncourt Amé laisné Dez Morelet, Daubenton De la Chappelle Godinot le Cerf Jardinier Homasselle Bizard et le Rouyer ie la supplie de les assurer de mes respects et de me recommander a leurs prieres j'avois dessein d'escrire a la plupart d'eux. mais le temps me manque nous partons demain pour nous embarquer et nous mettrons a la voile aussitot que nous serons arrive a la barre Je leurs écriray de la Chine d'ou ie croy qu'ils apprendront encore plus volontiers de mes nouvelles.

Adieu Mon cher pere priez Dieu pour moy ie vous en coniure et demandez luy quil me donne les dispositions necessaires pour bien travailler a la conversion des infidelles soiez aussi persuadé que ie ne manque pas de me souvenir tous les jours bien particulièrement de V. R. devant le Seigneur et que ie suis toujours avec le mesme respect et le mesme zele.

De vostre Reverence

Tres humble et tres

obeissant serviteur

J. F. Gerbillon

de la Comp<sup>te</sup> de Jesus

A Siam. le 1<sup>er</sup> novembre 1686.

Je rouvre mon paquet pour dire a V. R. que la tempeste nous a obligé de retourner icy ou nous sommes obligé de rester encore une année. V. R. verra le detail de nostre navigation dans la relation ample que le P. Fontenay en envoie au R. P. Verius i'en escriis le précis a ma mere et ie laisse ma lettre ouverte affin que V. R. la puisse voir avant que de l'envoyer ie la prie aussi de faire adiouter le précis de nostre disgrâce aux copies qu'elle fera faire de la relation que l'envoye a mon pere et que je laisse toute ouverte avant que d'envoyer ces copies aux personnes auxquelles i'ay prié V. R. d'en faire part. J'écriray encore diey a V. R. avant que de partir pour la Chine.

V. R. aura la bonté de cacheter la lettre du Pere de Haraucourt avant que de la luy envoyer.

Le P. Lecomte a adressé les mémoires qu'il a fait sur ce Royaume au P. Verjus<sup>(1)</sup> ainsi il faut prier le f. Godard den donner copie a V. R.

Au Reverend Pere

Le R. P. Galard de la Compagnie  
de Jesus

A Paris

31 mars 1936.

J. B.

(1) Et non au P. Villemont comme il en avait d'abord eu l'intention; v. *suprà*, p. 40, n. 2, et p. 43.





## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

MAURICE COLLIS, *Siamese White*, 8vo, XIII-322, Faber and Faber, London, (1936).

The title of this book is ambiguous. Two brothers, George and Samuel White, were connected with Siam during the last three decades of the XVIIIth century. George, the elder, was well-known in London after his retirement from Siam as an adversary of The East India Company. He appears to have had more influence both there and with Phaulkon in Siam than Samuel, the hero of this book.

The main source of authority for the book is a couple of long and most interesting Pamphlets at the British Museum entitled: *An historical abstract of Samuel White etc.* and *A true and impartial narrative of Captain Anthony Wellden*. They were printed by order of The East India Company to substantiate its case in the action brought against it in 1689 by Samuel White and continued after his death by his brother George White. They are called by Mr. Collis "The Davenport Papers."

Both documents bear the signature of Francis Davenport who acted as Secretary to Samuel White at Mergui in 1686-87 and then accompanied Wellden and White on their retirement from that place when driven out by the Siamese. The literary style is at times above the average in excellence, at other times it is involved and difficult. The narrative, which concerns the little English colony at Mergui, is startling and dramatic.

In the course of researches on Phaulkon in the summer of 1931 I made an extract at the British Museum of both documents for subsequent use in book I am preparing. I am therefore in a position to state that "Siamese White" contains a true and most lively presentation of the substance of both pamphlets. I have only found one trifling variation from my extracts. In Ch. xxv. Phaulkon's



offer of high office to White is placed after the extermination of the Macassars. In my extract it is given under date 10. August, after the discovery of the conspiracy, but before the fighting with the Macassars which occurred in September 1686.

In order to introduce his subject in its right setting Mr. Collis has drawn upon Dr. John Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam* (London 1890), and *The Records of the Relations* . . . (Bangkok 1916-21). Use has been made of De Choisy, Le Blanc, Lanier, and others but *not* of Launay, or vols. XXVI and XXVII of the JSS.

Adrien Launay's monumental work, *Histoire de la Mission de Siam* (Paris 1920), contains many copies of valuable historical MSS. in the Archives of The Foreign Missions in Rue du Bac, Paris. When working in these Archives, in the autumn of 1931, I found an unpublished MS. in Volume 854. ff. 887-942, which gives an account of Phaulkon's early years prior to 1681, as a corrective to the fulsome accounts by Tachard and the Jesuits. This MS. helps to fill the gap of four years, 1677-81, which exists between documents No. 3. and No. 4 in the third volume of *The Records of the Relations* . . .

P. 40, also pp. 44-45: Phaulkon is represented as the employé of George White in 1679, also in 1677 as associated with him in obtaining Samuel's appointment as skipper of the Mergui-Coromandel packet-boat. The French MS. states that Phaulkon first came to Siam as a seaman in the Company's ship which conveyed Burnaby from Bantam to Siam in 1678. In 1679 he was still working for Burnaby and George White in the interest of The East India Company in Siam. In 1677 he was not in Siam at all.

On p. 54, Phaulkon is said to have *emerged* in 1680 at the moment when it became apparent to the Siamese that the E. I. Coy was "a broken reed."

According to the French MS. Phaulkon worked as Burnaby's assistant, rendering the Company valuable service when it got into trouble with the Siamese Government for attempting to evade the blockade exercised by the Siamese against their rebellious dependency Singora. Phaulkon is said so to have impressed Burnaby with his success with the Siamese in overcoming that difficulty that Burnaby encouraged him to join the Siamese service, hoping thereby to have a friend at Court. This was in 1680.

On p. 62: "A person called Potts" is said to have succeeded to the charge of the English Factory after Burnaby joined Phaulkon;

also on the same page, that Potts became abusive when refused one of "the magnificent jobs which were being handed out to Englishmen" by Phaulkon.

The sequence of events set out in Vol. 3, Nos 19-26 and No. 45, in *The Records of the Relations* is as follows: Burnaby was relieved of his charge by Gosfright in the autumn of 1681. He accompanied Gosfright to Bantam early in 1682 in order to clear himself of the charges under which he had been relieved. He was back in Siam in 1683 at the end of which year he and Samuel White were appointed to office at Mergui through Phaulkon's influence. On Gosfright's departure from Siam the English Factory was left in the charge of Burnaby's two remaining junior Assistants, Potts and Ivatt. They were superseded by Strangh, who arrived in the autumn of 1683. Strangh closed down the Factory and left Siam early in 1684, taking Potts home with him. Ivatt, who sympathised with Phaulkon, was engaged as Siamese trade Agent on the Coromandel coast about the same time.

These records tell of the enmity that existed between Potts and his chiefs, both Burnaby and his predecessor at the English Factory. They also give details of the wrangle which occurred between Potts and Phaulkon after Burnaby's departure. The incidents assume significance in the light of the French Manuscript which shows both Potts and Phaulkon as Burnaby's Assistants in 1678-79, when the energetic Phaulkon was Burnaby's favourite.

Potts' wrangle with Phaulkon took place in 1682-83, when he and Ivatt on behalf of the English Company were pressing Phaulkon for settlement of a debt which Phaulkon admitted, while at the same time he pressed them on behalf of the Siamese for settlement of the Company's debt to the Treasury. It was not until the end of 1683, after Potts had been replaced by Strangh and Phaulkon's power at Court had increased, that Sam. White and Burnaby received their appointment at Mergui to which presumably the "magnificent jobs" refer.

P. 55, and p. 123: Credit for introducing French traders to Siam is attributed to Phaulkon.

In November 1673 two French Bishops had been received in audience by Prāh Narai. Mgr Pallu reported to Louis XIV. that Siam was then meditating the despatch of an embassy to France and urged Louis to send out merchant-ships to Siam.



The development of Colbert's policy made it desirable for France to enter into trade relations with Siam. Prāh Narai on his side was eager to welcome any Europeans who were opposed to the predominant Dutch. When the Franco-Dutch war was over and the seas were open to French ships, A. Boureau-Deslandes opened the first French Factory in Siam in 1680, and a Siamese embassy sailed for France.

It is obvious from the dates given above that Phaulkon can have had no possible share in these events.

P. 279: "By the end of 1687 Phaulkon was a millionaire."

P. 284: "After the Siamese had found his valuables."

When Phaulkon died, his fortune appears to have consisted of little more than his shares in the French Company amounting to fr. 150,000. The Siamese refused to allow his widow to retire to France, both because they feared she would claim these shares which the Siamese held should be used by the French to liquidate their claims on Siam, also they feared she might smuggle away with her treasure which they had failed to discover after Phaulkon's arrest. In 1692, Kaempfer found the widow penniless in Ayut'ia. Phaulkon lived very lavishly while he was in power, and it is improbable that he left much wealth other than his sumptuous household goods and his foreign investments.

P. 282: "Lady Phaulkon, daughter of a Christian Samurai."

The French MS. says that she was of mixed Japanese and Indian descent. As a widow she wrote under the name Doña Guimar de Pina begging for support to maintain her family. In this letter she makes no claim for herself other than that of widow of the once successful Phaulkon. Had she been of noble birth, the above-mentioned letter to a French Bishop would have been a suitable occasion for stressing the fact. The whining tone of this letter, which is extant, is suggestive of a tiresome rather than a "charming" woman.

P. 280: "Phaulkon, by turning Catholic himself, and suggesting "that Pra Narai should do the same, had led the French on....."

Phaulkon was converted to Catholicism by the well-known Flemish Jesuit Fr. Antoine Thomas, long before he came within the orbit of French politics. So far from suggesting that Prāh Narai should become a Catholic he did his best to persuade the Ambassador de Chaumont to drop this fantastic idea. The Ambassador's own statement is evidence of this.

P. 287: "Phaulkon posted French troops in Bangkok to cover the capital."

The Jesuits, not Phaulkon who was their tool, were responsible for the errors in French policy in Siam in 1687. It was the French who insisted upon occupying Bangkok instead of Singora, which was offered to them by the Siamese. It was Phaulkon who earned their hostility by driving a hard bargain with them on behalf of the Siamese, and only admitting them to Bangkok as mercenaries of Siam. The details of the negotiation will be found in the JSS, vol. xxvii, pt. 2, pp. 183-244.

Dr. Anderson, whom Mr. Collis follows, is largely responsible for these misapprehensions of Phaulkon's relations with France which hinged entirely on the Jesuits and their influence over Louis XIV. after Colbert's death.

Le Blanc, who is quoted for details of Phaulkon's end, came out with the troops in 1687 and left Siam with them in November 1688. He belonged to the second batch of Jesuits from France who came to Siam. He travelled out with Tachard, Phaulkon's spanegyrist, whose apocryphal history of Phaulkon's early days is pilloried in the French manuscript mentioned above.

Le Blanc's party of Jesuits were with the French troops in Bangkok during the summer of 1688 when the Siamese invested them. It is doubtful therefore whether he had any facilities for obtaining first-hand information of the tragedy at Lopburi when Phaulkon's power was broken.

The fact that portions of a pamphlet of his, published at Dijon in 1690, two years before his book, were excised by the censor because of their violently partisan character does not tend to recommend him as an unbiassed or quite reliable authority (v. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, vol. 1, col. 960).

These critical notes are offered in the hope that a second edition of "Siamese White" may be found to be justified both by the dramatic interest of its contents and by the clever and artistic manner in which Mr. Collis has presented it.

25th April 1936.

26038

E. W. HUTCHINSON.





## PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST IN OTHER JOURNALS

*Journal of the Bengal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Vol. XXX, Part 1, 1934.

Chattopadhyāy, K. P., and Basu, N. K.: *The Mṛga Festival of Chota Nāgpur*; pp. 150-161.

A conspicuous feature of the festival is the performance, in some localities, of dances depicting scenes from the Hindu Epics, in which masks are used for certain characters of the Ramayana.

*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Vol. XXXII, No. 85, 1932.

Paranivatana, S.: *Religious Intercourse between Ceylon & Siam in the 13-15th Centuries*; pp. 190-213.

A critical summary of relations between Ceylon and this country as recorded in the Pali literature of Siam, especially in the *Jinakālamālinī*. The *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* has a notice of this article (Vol. VIII, 1933, p. 98).

*Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Vol. XIII, Part 2, 1935.

Wilkinson, R. J.: *Early Indian Influence in Malaysia*; pp. 1-16.

Braddell, R.: *An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca*; pp. 70-109.

Vol. XIV, Part 1, 1936.

Hanobian, M.: *A Translation of "The Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1640-1" (by the Dutch)*, extracted from the Archives of the Dutch East Indies Company by P. A. Loupe, with a map; pp. 128-429.

*Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin.*

Jahrgang 37, 1ste Abt., 1934.

Trittel, W.: *Die Verfassung des Königreichs Siam vom 10. Dezember 1934*, pp. 169-194.

The Siamese text with a German translation article by article, a short summary of the previous form of Government and a glossary of terms employed. There is no comment of the subject-matter.

*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.*

5. Heft, 1935.

Strzygowski, J.: *Der Amerasiatische Kunststrom*, mit 3 Tafeln pp. 169-192.

Plumer, J. M.: *Notes on the Chien Yao (Temmoku) kiln-sites*, With 2 plates, pp. 193-4.

The sites are situated in three villages in Northern Fukien.

*Journal asiatique.*

Tome CCXXVI, No. 2, 1935.

Goloubew, V.: *La première ville d'Angkor*; pp. 293-299.

This comes under the heading of "Mélanges", treating of the important theory that Phnom Bâkhèng was the former pivot around which an older Angkor was built.

Tome CCXXVII, No. 1, 1936.

Liu Iá-kuang: *Punyodaya (Na-T'í), un propagateur du tantrisme en Chine et au Cambodge à l'époque de Hiuan-Tsang*; pp. 83-90.

Consisting of a biography of the priest Punyodaya and descriptions of the three works which he translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese. The last of these was the *Ātānāṭiya*, a Hinayāna text which is still regularly recited in this country with special ceremonial on new year's day.

*Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient.*

Vol. XXXIV, fasc. 1, 1934.

Gaspardone, E.: *Bibliographie annamite*; pp. 1-174.

Mus, P.: *Barabudur. Les origines du stupa et la transmigration*, *Essai d'archéologie religieuse comparée*; pp. 175-400.



This is the sixth chapter dealing with the genesis of Mahayanist Buddhology. Further chapters are to follow.

*Journal of the Burma Research Society.*

Vol. XXV, Part 2, 1935.

Phra Phraison Salarak: *Intercourse between Siam and Burma as recorded in the "Royal Autograph Edition" of the History of Siam*; pp. 49-108.

A summary rather than a translation of the Chronicles from the foundation of Ayudhya to the accession of P'rāh Māhath'āmmārāc'a. Other instalments to follow. The summary is still inaccurate in places, but otherwise readable.

Vol. XXV, Part 3.

*Burial Mounds of the Lawas*; p. 162.

*Toung Pao.*

Vol. XXXI, livr. 3-5, 1935.

Robert Lingat: *Une lettre de Vêret sur la révolution siamoise de 1688*; pp. 330-362.

This letter, found at the Archives de la Seine, in Paris, was written at Pondicherry on the 3rd of March 1689. It relates the events which has occurred in Siam from the date of Cébaret's departure to that of the retirement of the French garrison from Bangkok.





### ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1935.

The Council of the Siam Society has pleasure in submitting its report for 1935.

The Council has met regularly throughout the year under review, the number of meetings being ten and the average attendance nine (five constituting a quorum according to the rules) at each Council. During the year Mr. Edward Healey was invited to become a member of the Council and to accept the office of Honorary Architect. As Mr. Healey was the architect for the Society's home, it was felt his advice regarding the maintenance of the fabric would be valuable. Mr. Healey accepted the Council's invitation.

The Bangkok Women's Club applied for, and were granted, the privilege of using the Society's home as their official headquarters, and subsequently held their annual meeting in the building.

### PARMENTIER CATALOGUE.

The translation from French to English of the Parmentier catalogue of the objects contained in the Museums of Siam has now been undertaken by Major Seidenfaden, at the request of the Council.

### NATURAL HISTORY SECTION.

Mr. C. J. House early in the year took over the duties of Honorary Secretary of the Natural History Section from Mr. U. Guehler, who had consented to act temporarily.

The position in regard to the preservation of the wild life of the country remains as at the date of the last report, and the proposed law, regarding the provisions of which the Society were consulted, has not yet been promulgated.

### MEETINGS.

There were four meetings, three Ordinary General Meetings of members and one meeting of the Natural History Section.

On September 24th Mr. John Bailey read a paper on The Crawford Mission to Siam in 1822. The President was in the Chair, and there was a good attendance.

On November 13th Professor H. Bantli, of Chulalongkorn University, gave an account of his journey with Mr. R. Schaller to Yunnanfu *via* the Shan States, Talifu and the Yangtse river. This was illustrated with lantern slides, and the President was in the Chair.

On December 18th at the residence of Phya Nakorn Phra Ram, Samsen, a translation of a paper prepared by him on Thai Ceramics was read, and his unique collection of porcelain, mostly of Sankalok ware, was open to inspection. H. H. Prince Dhani Nivat, Vice-President, was in the Chair.

The meeting of the Natural History Section took place on July 23rd when Dr. O. R. Causey read a paper "Some Notes on Siamese Mosquitoes", illustrated with slides, and a number of exhibits were introduced by Nai Ariant Manjikul, Mr. C. J. House and Phya Srithikarn Banbong. The Leader of the Section, Dr. A. G. Ellis, presided.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

In the course of the year fourteen ordinary members were elected as compared with twelve in 1934. Two ordinary members died and twenty resigned, while two were elected to Corresponding membership.

One Honorary member and one Free member died and one Free member was restored to membership after absence.

On the 1st January, 1936 the membership was as follows:—

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Ordinary	Free
19	13	3	132	4

making a total of 171 as compared with 189 in 1934 and 207 in 1933.

#### EVOLUTION OF SIAMESE SCRIPT.

Thirty-nine copper blocks have been made from the photographs which were re-taken last year, the originals having deteriorated.

These have been lodged in the Society's building and it is considered that they will remain in good condition for a number of years if necessary, in order to form the basis of the written portion of the work.



## FLORAE SIAMENSIS ENUMERATIO (CRAIB).

The position with regard to this publication was the subject of careful consideration by the Council during the year.

It was reported that several subscribers had cancelled their orders and also that the one hundred unbound copies previously supplied to Aberdeen University would no longer be required. It was decided to issue a new circular to fifty institutions not at present subscribing in order to attempt to increase the revenue.

It was found that the Society had expended Tes. 6,881 on this publication. The income from sales could not be stated exactly, but was computed to be Tes. 5,400. Considerable stocks of back numbers were in hand for which there was a small, but regular demand.

The Council decided to continue the publication up to the end of Volume II, after which the position would be reviewed again.

The whole of Vol. II, part 3, was set in type at the end of the year and will be published early in 1936. The edition has been reduced to 300 copies.

## FINANCE.

Early in 1935 an appeal was forwarded to the Siamese Government for a grant in aid to the funds of the Society, but, after a careful consideration of the arguments advanced by the President on behalf of the Council and of the work the Society was doing, the Administration regretfully found itself unable to accede to the petition.

In July, the President drew attention to the finances of the Society which appeared to him to require consideration, and in consequence two meetings of the Finance Committee were held, one of which was entirely devoted to Craib's Flora as described above.

With regard to the reduced membership the President undertook to prepare a circular addressed to non-members in order to promote interest in the Society; this was in hand at the end of the year. The Finance Committee recommended certain minor economies and a slightly lower price for printing was obtained by reducing the edition of the Journal to 375 copies, including Authors' separates.

The Exchange Committee was also convened with instructions to effect economies. The Budget for 1936 was considered later in the year and the Council explored the possibility of reducing the annual subscription with a view to popularising the membership. The majority, however, considered that the time was not ripe for such a change which would probably lead to a reduced revenue.



## THE EXCHANGE COMMITTEE.

This consisted of Major Seidenfaden, Dr. Ellis, and Messrs. Guehler, Burnay and House. The meeting was held in September.

The Exchange list was found to be in good order and difficulty was experienced in effecting any serious reduction as it was felt that the discontinuance of exchange relations with many well-known foreign societies and institutions would lower the prestige of the Siam Society abroad and be detrimental to its interests. Thus a suggestion to discontinue relations with Dutch and Italian societies whose publications are less read than others, was not accepted by the Council.

In the end a reduction of four copies of the Journal and eleven copies of the Natural History Supplement was effected, chiefly by deleting certain educational institutions which it was thought were able to subscribe to the Journals if they were sufficiently interested.

## RE-PRINTING.

The first part of the former Natural History Society of Siam Journal was re-printed during the year in accordance with the policy of the Council in maintaining stocks of all back numbers.

This part was the only one of the Natural History Journals of which inadequate stocks existed.

## BUILDING.

Towards the end of the year the Honorary Architect, (Mr. E. Healey) inspected the Society's building which has now been erected three years. He reported that it was in excellent order and unlikely to require repairs, except painting, for several years. During the rains the building was repeatedly invaded by white ants but owing to the vigilance of the caretaker very little damage was done to the valuable stocks of books and journals. On Mr. Healey's advice preventative measures were successfully undertaken.

A public water-main has now been laid along the Society's road but the Council have not yet taken steps to have the supply taken into the premises. This road has remained in excellent condition but the connecting roads, known as Cole Avenue and South Road, have been very bad during the rains and required temporary repairs before every meeting. These roads were not constructed by the Society but Tes. 300 were contributed to the making of the South Road in 1933. The question of linking up the Siam Society road

directly with the Paknam Road, thus avoiding the present circuitous approach, is being discussed with neighbouring land-owners.

#### THE JOURNAL AND SUPPLEMENT.

Volume XXVII, part 2 of the Journal, which was in the press at the beginning of the year (154 pp), was issued in May; and in August Volume XXVIII, part 1, (93 pp.), and the long deferred Index to Vols. I—XXV (47 pp) were sent to members; and this was followed in December by the issue of Volume XXVIII, part 2, (138 pp.). Mr. J. Burnay, continued to act as Editor of the Journal throughout the period under review.

The first part of a new volume of the Natural History Supplement, Volume X, part 1, was also published in this period, for the first time under the editorship of Dr. A. G. Ellis.

#### EXCURSIONS.

The Agricultural, Travel and Transport Section was unable to arrange any excursions during the year. Phya Srithikar Banchong and Luang Thavil continued to be Leader and Honorary Secretary of this Section until December, when Luang Thavil who was posted to the provinces for duty, tendered his resignation.

The end of the year coincided with an attempt to arrange excursions conducted at week-ends to temples, and other sites worthy of inspection in Bangkok, on both the east and west banks of the river as well as to places of historical interest in the provinces. Mr. U. Guehler was co-opted to this section in connection with the drawing up of programmes likely to make an appeal to members, and at the Council's wish Major Seidenfaden expressed his willingness to act as guide as far as possible.

#### ASTRONOMICAL SECTION.

This Section has held one meeting in the Society's compound during 1935, on the 19th of January, to view a total eclipse of the moon, but on the few other occasions this year when there have been opportunities to study the heavenly bodies, the ill-health of the Leader (Mr. H. Brändli) has unfortunately prevented further activities.



## TRIBAL DRESSES.

Considerable progress was made in the year with classification of the tribal dresses which had been sent in to the Society by various Commissioners and other officials throughout the country. Their efforts in this direction were acknowledged by a letter of thanks in Siamese signed by the President. There are still a few dresses which it is hoped to obtain to be added to the collection already assembled and now that the classification is more or less complete, Major Seidenfaden, who has undertaken the task of describing the dresses in the course of a series of short notes, will, it is hoped, be able to arrange for their exhibition in the Society's home. The best means of displaying these dresses will be decided when the dresses are actually ready for display. In this connection H. S. H. Prince Varn-vaidyakara, a member of the Council, has been most helpful in regard to inspiring the collection and the despatch of these dresses from the outer regions; again rendering help when it was found that some types or examples were missing; and finally by notifying the Council that it was his pleasure to meet all expenses in this connection.

## AGENTS.

The Council approved of an addition to the Agencies for the disposal of the Society's publications by the appointment to the existing list of one of the foremost Japanese distributing firms, the well-known house of Messrs. Maruzen and Co., of Tokyo. Through this new connection the Council hope to make more widely known the aims and work of the Society, and so foster the relations now developing increasingly between the two countries.

## ACCOUNTS.

A year of very heavy expenditure has been balanced with a very exceptional income and the Society finds itself at the end of 1935 some Tes. 630 better off than at the beginning of the year.

The subscription revenue amounted to Tes. 3,600 which is Tes. 250 more than last year. This has only been obtained by careful collection of arrears; actually, owing to diminished membership, the subscriptions for the current year were Tes. 225 less than in 1934. Certain agency accounts were settled and produced a large part of the income from sales which are very satisfactory, although, unfortunately this source of income varies very much from year to year.

On the expenditure side, printing and other charges in connection with the Journals and publications amounted to Tes. 3,817. Of this, the printing of the Journal of the Siam Society absorbed Tes. 2,118, three parts having been published during the year in compensation for only one part in 1934. The general expenses amount to about Tes. 1,500 yearly of which Tes. 816 are for wages and Tes. 147 for fire insurance.

The Reserve fund which is on fixed deposit, was restored to Tes. 4,000 in the course of the year.



# Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1935.

Receipts.		Total.	Expenditure.		Total.
To balance brought forward from 1934		1,254.34	By Clerk's wages & travelling allowance		400.00
" Subscriptions		100	" Caretaker's wages		300.00
" do		435	" Postages and Revenue stamps, Hon. Treasurer		56.16
" do		2,000	" Postages and postages, Hon. Secretary		49.87
" do		125	" Printing Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II and XXVIII		4,119.02
" do		100	" Printing N. H. Supplement, Vol. X, Pt. I		200.00
" do		100	" Books for Journal		942.50
" do		100	" Printing Authors' separate covers only		40.20
" do		100	" Preparing index to Vol. I, XXV		111.45
" do		100	" Printing index to Vol. I, XXV		190.75
" do		100	" Books on discharging Journals		254.50
" do		100	" Wrapping and addressing Journals		344.00
" do		100	" Printing and distributing circulars		97.14
" do		100	" Stationery		85.70
" do		100	" Electric light and fuel		54.00
" do		100	" Fire Insurance		62.34
" do		100	" Building		140.36
" do		100	" Stocks		140.36
" do		100	" Hire of T. G. box		88.00
" do		100	" Contribution to cost of water meter		50.00
" do		100	" Purchase of lawn mower		18.00
" do		100	" Books bought for library		40.55
" do		100	" Repairs of South Road		14.39
" do		100	" White anti-rust preventive measures		80.13
" do		100	" Cleaning material and garden sundries		18.76
" do		100	" Cleaning expenses		13.00
" do		100	" Ballroom expenses		58.05
" do		100	" Crail's Photo postage on proofs		22.00
" do		100	" Purchase of filling cabinet for dictionary		65.00
" do		100	" Reprinting of J. Nat. Hist. Soc. Memo, Vol. I, part I		171.00
" do		100	" Subscriptions refunded		25.00
Total expenditure		7,324.05	Total expenditure		7,324.05
By Transfer to fixed deposit Reserve account		4,000.00	By Transfer to fixed deposit Reserve account		4,000.00
" balances carried forward to 1936		1,254.34	" balances carried forward to 1936		1,254.34

N. B.—The above sales include Messrs. Linné's amounts.

## Reserve Fund Account.

To balance brought forward from 1934	1,254.34
By Transfer from General account	4,000.00
By Interest received	100.00
Total on fixed deposit	4,000.00

Examined and found to agree with the books and vouchers.

G. R. BURGESS,  
Hon. Auditor.

## Subscriptions outstanding.

1933	100
1934	100
1935	100

## Number of Members as at 31st. December 1935.

Honorary	10
Corresponding	15
Life	1
Ordinary	120
Free	1
Total	157

C. J. BOURNE,  
Hon. Treasurer.

## THE EXCHANGE LIST.

*A list of the Institutions with which the Siam Society exchanges publications, or to which it sends complimentary copies.*

## (A) JOURNAL OF THE SIAM SOCIETY.

- Anthropos, St. Gabriel-Mödling, Vienna, Austria.  
 Université de Louvain, Louvain, Belgium.  
 The Burma Research Society, Rangoon, Burma.  
 The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch, Colombo, Ceylon.  
 Institut de Sinologie, University of Peiping, Peiping, China.  
 The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.  
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.  
 Ecole des langues orientales vivantes, 2 rue de Lille, Paris, VII<sup>e</sup>.  
 Musée Guimet, 6 Place d'Iéna, Paris, XVI<sup>e</sup>.  
 Société de Linguistique, Sorbonne, Paris, V<sup>e</sup>.  
 Société Asiatique, 1 rue de Seine, Paris, VI<sup>e</sup>.  
 Trocadéro Museum, Paris.  
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ON AUGUST 31ST 1936.

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<sup>(1)</sup> All addresses are in Bangkok unless otherwise stated.



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## CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP.

The following changes have been recorded since the beginning of 1936.

## ELECTIONS.

1936.

- January 8th.—Dr. E. Gotschlich, Mr. P. Schweisguth (restored).  
 February 5th.—H. H. Prince Devawongse.  
 March 4th.—Messrs. R. Plion, A. H. Ballantyne, Ong Thyé Ghee,  
 Ang Kianw Goan.  
 May 6th.—Mr. E. A. Perkins, Princeton University Library.

## DIED.

The death of the following members is recorded with regret:—  
 Prof. L. Finot, Dr. C. B. Bradley and Mr. R. W. Giblin (Honorary Members); Rev. G. H. Feltus.

## RESIGNATIONS.

Mr. P. Fuchs,	Mr. J. Kindness,	Mr. E. Ronlez.
Mr. H. E. Rodatz,	Nai Sanya Dharmasakdi,	

## REMOVALS (under rule 8).

H. S. H. Prince Chalart Lobloesan;	Mr. K. V. Laer.
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# LES NOMS À ÉLÉMENTS NUMÉRAUX DES PRINCIPAUTÉS TAI<sup>(1)</sup>

par

JEAN RISPAUD,

Capitaine d'Infanterie coloniale.

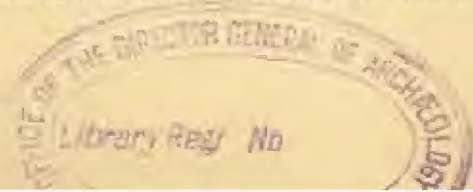
Il est bien connu que les Tai ignorent la plupart du temps le véritable sens de leurs toponymes et ont fabriqué pour chacun d'eux une ou plusieurs étymologies romancées reposant sur des analogies, des confusions ou des jeux de mots. Dans ces exercices, les légendes historiques et religieuses ont été particulièrement mises à contribution et, en cas de besoin, les scribes ont même ajouté aux chroniques des épisodes destinés à expliquer d'une façon agréable ou édifiante le nom des lieux où l'action se déroule. La critique moderne a bien du mal à se reconnaître dans ces inventions désordonnées. Indispensable, l'analogie phonétique, dont on a tant usé et parfois mésusé, ne constitue qu'un premier indice. Les repères mêmes qui sont fournis par les dialectes tai risquent d'être faussés par les différences toniques existant entre les rejets de la langue commune. On en verra ici quelques exemples à propos des noms emphatiques en vernaculaire des grandes principautés fondées par les Tai de l'ouest.

## I. SIP-SÔNG P'ÂN-NA.

Le major E. Seidenfaden dans une note sur les Tai Lu<sup>(2)</sup> a fait remarquer que le sens de Sip-sông P'ân-na, nom du royaume de Chieng

(1) La quantité n'est marquée que pour les voyelles brèves sans distinction entre celles-ci et les très brèves de l'écriture. *J* des écritures indiennes est noté d'après sa valeur phonétique moderne dans les différents dialectes tai : en lotien, *z* ou *f*, suivant les cas, en lu' c', etc. Selon l'usage des tsaïna, *quen* désigne les Tai de Chieng Mãi. On a écrit partout tai.

(2) *Supplementary Note* [à "The Lü"], *JSS*, XIX, pt. 3 (1925), p. 186. Le lecteur ne comprendra sans doute pas que "the Chieng Rung State" et "the Sip-song Panna, the twelve Thui States" sont un seul et même Etat. Il





Ràng (Hùng), prêtait à discussion: "Généralement, on l'écrit en siamois สิบสองพันนา, ce qui se traduit par "douze mille rizières". Cependant, on le trouve aussi écrit สิบสองบ้าน, ce qui signifie "rizières divisées en douze parties".<sup>(1)</sup> *P'ân-na*, la première graphie, signifie littéralement "mille rizières" en langue moderne et a désigné chez les Yuen, successivement semble-t-il, un système de rizières jointives et un district.<sup>(2)</sup> Malgré les apparences, cette expression n'est très probablement pas figurative. L'étude d'ensemble des noms à éléments numériques composés avec *na* "rizière" nous permettra de saisir la complexité des rapports dont elle rend compte et imposera une traduction plus conforme au fait taï. Chez les Lâi, *P'ân-na* a pris le sens particulier de fief de seigneur de sang royal (*Ūân Môm*), c'est-à-dire de principauté. On doit donc traduire *Sip-sông P'ân-na* par "Douze principautés".

La controverse étymologique est née de ce qu'il existe en siamois et en laotien deux orthographes de *p'ân*, l'une avec et l'autre sans aspiration à l'initiale. De toute évidence, il faut recourir à la forme originale, c'est-à-dire *lâi*, qui est *p'ân* et non *pân*. En effet, ce dialecte ressemble au point de vue phonétique au siamois et au laotien quant au traitement des sonores de la langue commune qu'il a changées en sourdes aspirées, \**b* étant devenu *p*.<sup>(3)</sup> La forme *pân* a été empruntée à un dialecte taï où les sonores sont devenues des sourdes non aspirées, en l'espèce à celui des Taï noirs qui ont émigré au Laos et en Annam le long de la Chalme annamitique. Cette hypothèse se vérifie par le fait que l'on rencontre, en laotien, *pân* avec le sens

n'y a pas onze mais quatre *P'ân-na* sur la rive droite du Mékong et huit au lieu d'un (*M. Sing*) sur la rive gauche. Telle est du moins la répartition traditionnelle encore attestée par un dicton (v. L. DE REINACH, *Le Laos*, édit. posth., [1911], p. 26, et pour les corrections, *Jour. North-China Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, LXIV, 1932, p. 148). La principauté de *O'eng K'eng*, capitale *Mu'ang Sing*, ne fait pas partie des *Sip Sông P'ân-na*, au moins depuis le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. *O'eng Tâng* est un Etat shan du sud et non du nord.

(1) Cf. R. S. LE MAY, *An Asian Acready*, . . , p. 8.

(2) *Annales du Siam*, (trad. Norrois), III, sens restreint, équivalent du chinois 甲, s.a. 1274, p. 79; sens étendu s.a. 1328, p. 79, s.a. 1545, p. 153 et passim. Ces faits ne signifient pas que *p'ân-na* avait uniquement au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle le sens restreint, mais qu'à cette époque il était encore employé dans cette acception qui s'est perdue depuis.

(3) V. H. MASPÉRO, *Contribution à l'étude du système phonétique des langues thai*, BEFEO, XI, p. 157.

de "mille".<sup>(1)</sup> L'orthographe siamoise *ñu* est donc simplement la transcription de cette forme dialectale, qui doit être traduite par "mille" comme *ñu*.

## 2. LAN NA ET PA PAI SI FOU.

Le nom emphatique de *Lan Na*, qui a désigné l'ancienne principauté laotienne de C'ieng Sên puis celle de C'ieng Mâi, a vu lui aussi son étymologie remise en question sur la foi de sa graphie siamoise. On l'interprète généralement par "million de rizières". Cependant M. R. S. le May<sup>(2)</sup> fait remarquer que cette traduction est très douteuse, car *lan* s'écrit *ṇu* sans *mâi l'o* et qu'ainsi orthographié *Lan Na* signifie "aire". Ici encore il faut déplorer l'erreur de méthode qui consiste à traduire sur une transcription siamoise. Tel qu'on l'écrit en yuen, *Lan Na* veut dire littéralement "million-rizières", sens qui est appuyé de l'inmanquable légende étymologique<sup>(3)</sup> et sur lequel nous reviendrons plus loin.

Le *Lan Na* portait encore en taï le nom officiel "Mo'ân biñ jyañ hmaï", selon la transcription de M. G. Cordès.<sup>(4)</sup> Seulement on peut se demander si la longue de "Biñ" ne fait pas obstacle au rapprochement de ce nom avec le Bīngaraṭṭha de la *Jinakālamālinī*, qui lui, du moins, est le pays de la Mē P'ing, mais s'écrit par un *i* bref.<sup>(5)</sup> L'orthographe "Biñ" est indiscutable, car elle est attestée, à des époques différentes, par des stèles érigées à C'ieng Mâi même, l'une au temple de Wât Lāmp'ong (1492 A. D.; Pavie VI, v° 1, 1.5)<sup>(6)</sup> et l'autre au temple de Wât Sūphān (circa 1501 A. D.; Pavie V, v° 1, 1.5). Si j'é mets ce doute, que je ne suis pas en mesure de lever, c'est que ce nom est écrit ailleurs "byañ", forme qui nous éloigne sensiblement de "P'ing". Elle a été publiée par F. W. K. Müller<sup>(7)</sup> qui la note "phyāng",

(1) TH. GUIGNARD, *Dict. laotien-français*, h. v. Cet auteur habitait précisément la Chaîne annamitique et son œuvre fait mention de formes dialectales appartenant aux Taï non laotiens de cette région.

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 11, note. (Cf. G. CORDÈS, *À propos des anciens noms de Luang Prabang*, BEFEO, XVIII, x, p. 10, n. 3).

(3) *Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 9-10.

(4) *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, . . . , I, p. 10-12.

(5) Cf. G. CORDÈS, *Documents sur le Laos*, . . , BEFEO, XXV, p. 1-2, notes.

(6) *V. infra*, partie 4.

(7) *T'oung Pao*, III, 1892, p. 3. "Mo'ân byañ jyañ hmaï" peut signifier en langue moderne "ville en plaine" de C'ieng Mâi.



d'après un lexique sino-yuen du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>(1)</sup> où les mots yuen figurent en écriture indigène dite "de Sukhodaya". Cette lecture est irréprochable comme le prouvent certaines collections de suppliques attribuées au souverain de C'ieng Mái, suppliques dont un fac-similé a été publié<sup>(2)</sup> et qui proviennent, comme le précédent ouvrage, du Bureau des Traducteurs de la Cour de Chine. De même, un manuscrit de Paris<sup>(3)</sup> contenant un lexique et des suppliques sino-yuen porte partout "Byan". Comme on pourra s'en assurer par l'étude paléographique et lexicographique de ces textes, les vocabulaires originels de cette provenance sont d'informateurs et peut-être d'âges différents. Les auteurs chinois nous font connaître la collaboration des ambassadeurs étrangers, lors de leur séjour à la cour de Chine, avec le personnel des services de l'Interprétariat. On sait encore par les mêmes sources que ces lexiques ont été révisés vers 1749, sur l'ordre de l'empereur K'ien-long, par les soins des gouverneurs des provinces où l'on était le plus à même d'en contrôler le contenu, c'est-à-dire en l'occurrence au Yunnan.<sup>(4)</sup> J'ajouterai, après les avoir étudiés et pratiqués depuis un certain temps, que les vocabulaires yuen renferment le minimum d'erreurs et qu'il serait fort extraordinaire que l'une d'elles portât précisément sur le nom de la capitale. Il paraît donc impossible de croire que la graphie "byan" soit le résultat d'une erreur persistante, encore que les inscriptions yuen nous donnent à plusieurs reprises une même forme, différente de celle des lexiques chinois. Il vaut mieux tenter de concilier ces données contradictoires. La littérature groupée sous la rubrique "Pa-pai" au Bureau des Traducteurs avait trait non seulement à C'ieng Mái, mais aussi à Mu'ang Javâ

(1) Ms. Huru n° 1, (Kgl.) Bibliothek de Berlin.

(2) *T'oung Pao*, III, 1892, p. 63, reproduit dans *Marco Polo*, éd. YULE-COOPER, II, p. 118.

(3) N° 986, Bibl. Nat., nouv. fonds chin., vol. II, K. 9, f° 15<sup>a</sup>; K. 10, f° 109<sup>a</sup>, 121<sup>a</sup>, 123<sup>a</sup>, 125<sup>a</sup>, etc. Les suppliques de la collection Morrison ne portent pas trace de l'une ou l'autre de ces expressions, ce qui est une preuve de la diversité des sources.

(4) V. G. DEVÉANS, *La frontière sino-annamite*, . . . , p. 103-4; *Le Collège des Interprètes*, . . . (Mélanges de Harlex), Leide, 1896, p. 98. Pour la bibliographie de la question, v. P. PELLIOU, *BEFEO*, IX, p. 170-1; HENRI MASPERO, *ibid.*, XII, I, p. 7-9, notes; L. AUBOUSSEAU, *ibid.*, XII, 9, p. 198; P. PELLIOU, *T'oung Pao*, 1928, p. 53-61.

(Luang Prabang) et à C'ieng Hông, pour ne parler que des documents figurant à bon droit dans les archives du 9<sup>e</sup> Bureau. On peut donc croire que l'orthographe "hyañ" était employée dans l'un de ces États—peut-être même à C'ieng Mái comme forme aberrante—et qu'elle a, tout en étant authentique, le défaut de ne pas appartenir au bon usage du pays que le nom sert à désigner.

Les Chinois appellent le Lan Na: *Pa pai si fou kouo* 八百媳婦國 et, par une abréviation traditionnelle de ce nom, ils distinguent le Grand *Pa pai*, C'ieng Mái, du Petit *Pa pai*, C'ieng Sên.<sup>(1)</sup> D'après les auteurs chinois, *Pa pai si fou kouo*, qui signifie le royaume des huit cents femmes, viendrait de ce que le roi avait huit cents femmes

(1) *Cheng wou ki*, traduit par C. IMBAULT-HUART sous le titre "*Histoire de la conquête de la Birmanie*", J.A. 1878, p. 147. (Cf. *Ts'eu Yuan* cité par A. J. H. CHARIGNON, *Le livre de Marco Polo* . . . , II, p. 264.) L'identification du *Pa pai si fou* a été autrefois très controversée: F. GARNIER (dans *Marco Polo* . . . , édition YULE-CORDIER, II, p. 117, n. 1) et Sir G. SCOTT (*Gazetteer of Upper Burma* . . . , I, ii, p. 401) avaient proposé Mu'ang Yông pour diverses raisons hypothétiques ou erronées. G. DEVERIA (*La frontière sino-annamite* . . . , p. 100, n. 1) a montré d'après le témoignage positif de textes chinois qu'il s'agit de C'ieng Mái (pour les références qui manquent, v. *BEFEO*, IV, p. 244, n. 4, et VIII, p. 154; ajouter: Ms. 986, II, K. 9, f<sup>o</sup> 15<sup>a</sup>). En réalité, le nom de *Pa pai*, équivalent de Lan Na, s'est déplacé avec la capitale en tant qu'il désigne celle-ci. Quand les Mongols attaquèrent le *Pa pai* vers 1280 (*Sin Yuan che*, k. 252, p. II, 12; trad. CHARIGNON, *op. cit.*, II, p. 263), il s'agissait évidemment non de C'ieng Mái mais de C'ieng Sên. L'identification de DEVERIA ne vaut donc qu'à partir de 1296, date de la fondation de la "capitale neuve" et E. H. PARKER (in *Gazetteer* . . . , I, ii, p. 192) en donnant C'ieng Sên comme équivalent indigène de *Pa pai* ne commet qu'un anachronisme. La seule question qui reste en suspens est la valeur des expressions: Petit et Grand *Pa pai*. Celle donnée plus haut est tirée des deux textes chinois cités, mais le *Tien hi* (trad. du ch. xxxvii, *BEFEO*, VIII, p. 155) dit que le Petit *Pa pai* est C'ieng Mái. Sir G. SCOTT (*Gazetteer* . . . , I, ii, p. 401) suppose que le grand *Pa pai* est Mu'ang Yông et semble faire allusion à C'ieng Sên pour l'autre. Ici encore, il semble que la localisation ait varié avec la carte politique du Lan Na. Pourtant on ne voit guère comment C'ieng Mái aurait pu être appelé "Petit *Pa pai*" si ce n'est par une tradition historique accordant la prééminence à C'ieng Sên ou à C'ieng Rai. Quoi qu'il en soit, Mu'ang Yông (actuellement dans l'État de C'ieng Túng) ne doit pas être englobé dans le *Pa pai*. En dépit de l'incertitude de la nomenclature géographique à l'époque mongole, il paraît bien que cette principauté le faisait partie du "Tch'e-li" des Chinois. Au cours de son histoire, elle a eu quelques rapports avec le Lan Na, mais c'est parce qu'elle fut dépendance siamoise depuis les campagnes de 1802-1805 jusqu'aux traités anglo-siamois que son intéressante chronique, dont M. C. NORRIS nous fait espérer l'édition, peut se lire actuellement au Siam.



à chacune desquelles il donnait un apanage<sup>(1)</sup>. Mais il est plus probable que c'est là tout simplement la transcription phonétique de quelque nom indigène.<sup>(2)</sup> M. G. Coedès, constatant l'insuffisance des explications qui ont été proposées s'est demandé, laissant de côté *si fou kouo*, si *pa pai* ne serait pas une transcription de l'expression yuen identique désignant la forêt clairière de diptérocarpées "qui couvre la moitié du pays et en couvrirait peut-être une plus grande étendue autrefois".<sup>(3)</sup> En ce cas, nous devrions le retrouver employé par les Yuen dans un des noms de leur principauté, alors qu'il n'existe rien de tel. Dans *Pa pai si fou*, *pa* (cantonnais: *pat*) signifiant "huit" correspond au *taï pēt* et, parmi les déterminatifs du Lan Na, il en existe un qui commence par le chiffre 8. C'est "84.000 Mu'ang" qui s'entend aussi "84 P'an-na", selon une équivalence théorique bien connue. Ce nombre dont on verra tout à l'heure le caractère symbolique se rapporte au Lan Na du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, époque dont l'histoire nous est parvenue par fragments enrobés dans une masse semi-légendaire mais qui n'est pas absolument impénétrable. C'est, à mon avis, sur *Pēt sip si P'an-na* que s'est modelé *Pa pai si fou*, par analogie avec un nom *taï* très voisin que les Yunnanais avaient interprété avec fantaisie. Cette expression chinoise date probablement de l'époque des Song, mais elle n'a fait son apparition dans les textes historiques que vers 1260.<sup>(4)</sup>

On connaît le passage du Livre de Marco Polo où il est dit que le roi du "Cangigu" est si luxurieux qu'il a bien trois cents femmes.<sup>(5)</sup> Bien que "Cangigu" soit la transcription de "Kiao tehe kono", nom chinois du Tonkin, comme l'a établi M. Pelliot,<sup>(6)</sup> il n'est pas douteux que le Vénitien, parlant de ces régions uniquement par ouï-dire, a mis au compte de ce royaume "vers levant" des renseignements touchant le Laos septentrional, au sens où Francis Garnier

(1) Un village fortifié (*Tien hi*, l.c., p. 154).

(2) G. IMBAULT-HUART, *op. cit.*, p. 144, note 1.

(3) *Doc. Laos*, p. 2, notes.

(4) V. A. J. H. CHARIGNON, *op. cit.*, II, p. 263.

(5) *Il Milione*, éd. L. F. BENEDETTO, Florence, 1928, p. 125, donne la leçon fautive "Cangigu"; (Cf. *Marco Polo*., éd. YULE-CORDIER, II, p. 116; PACTHER, p. 425; CHARIGNON, II, p. 261).

(6) *BEFEO*, III, p. 299, note 1.

entendait cette expression géographique, c'est-à-dire la région de C'eng Hông, C'eng Tûng et Mu'ang Yông. Sauf que les Tai ne se nourrissent pas de lait—non plus que les Annamites—les renseigne-t-il qu'il donne sur le Caugigu, notamment son éloignement de la mer et les tatouages de ses habitants, s'appliquent exactement au Laos septentrional. Parmi les annotateurs de Marco Polo, Yule, Pauthier et Charignon sont d'accord pour admettre que ce chapitre traite de cette contrée et leur localisation peut s'appuyer sur un nouvel argument. Dans les Annales de Yong-tch'ang,<sup>(1)</sup> ville traversée par Marco Polo, il est dit que le roi de C'eng Tûng a trois cents femmes, le nombre même attribué par le voyageur au roi du Caugigu. Il n'y a d'ailleurs pas lieu de croire qu'il s'agit nécessairement de C'eng Tûng, conquise par les Tai une trentaine d'années seulement avant l'invasion mongole au Yunnan, plutôt que de ses parages sur les rives du Mékhong haut-laotien. Une tradition historique semble fournir la clef de cet énigmatique "300 femmes", dont la fiction n'a pas été tirée du néant par les Chinois.

D'après le colonel G. E. Gerini,<sup>(2)</sup> la chronique de Mu'ang Yông mentionne, avant le xv<sup>e</sup> siècle, le partage entre les trois fils du roi de C'eng Hông des principautés de Mu'ang C'è, Mu'ang Yông et Mu'ang Sing. La chronique du Tat *Mahiyanga C'ôm Yông*<sup>(3)</sup> donne une autre version où il s'agit de Mu'ang C'è, Mu'ang Sing et Mu'ang Hâm. En fait, les détails de cette tradition sont sans importance: M. Sing, capitale toute récente de la principauté de C'eng K'èng, n'a joué aucun rôle avant le xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle en tant que Mu'ang tai, et c'est trois, nombre traditionnel des principautés de la région, qui a seul de l'intérêt. De nos jours, les Lu' citent le dicton suivant lequel il existe dans la région trois capitales royales (*sam hu k'asât*), qui sont: C'eng Hông, C'eng Tûng et Mu'ang Lêm. Cette énumération moderne se retrouve dans la légende de la fondation du Teh'e-li par les trois fils d'un empereur de Chine (ou plutôt du Nan-tchao), telle que la rapporte Francis Garnier.<sup>(4)</sup> L'explorateur ajoute:

(1) *Gazetteer*... I, ii, p. 397 (cf. *Tien hi*, L.c., p. 161).

(2) *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 138, note 3.

(3) [F. GARNIER], *Voyage d'exploration*... I, p. 472.

(4) *Ibid.*, I, p. 472-3. Dans l'Etat de C'eng Tûng, un groupe ethnique de la famille Wa (Lawa) ayant atteint un degré de civilisation assez avancé a été appelé "Sam Dao" par les Tai (W. C. DODD, *The Tai Race*... p.



"Cette division de la contrée en trois royaumes est attestée par le nom de *Sam Tao*, qui en chinois signifie "les trois parts", donné au plateau qu'habitent les Dôa. Il est situé . . . entre Xieng Heng et Xieng Tong [Tông], au sud de Muong Lem. C'est là que viennent aujourd'hui encore se rencontrer les limites de ces trois principautés." Les K'a Bit (Kha Mi, Kha met; en leur langue: P'ing Bi) du moyen Nâm U, qui situant mal leur contrée d'origine, disent que leur premier chef s'appelait P'i Páp Sam Mu'ang. Comme le prouve l'existence de groupes K'a Bit vers le Mékhong, nul doute qu'ils soient des "Doy" venus des *Sam Tao* (les trois rois). Il est exact que les Chinois connaissent cette tradition et le colonel Gerini<sup>(1)</sup> s'en est rendu compte. Le *San moung* (trois Mu'ang) de la "Description des peuples tributaires de la dynastie Ta-ts'ing"<sup>(2)</sup> se rapporte au sud de l'ancienne préfecture de P'ou-enl, c'est-à-dire à la région dont il est question ici.

Je crois aussi que, à la faveur d'une amphibologie, cette tradition s'est glissée dans la division des Etats anciens de cette contrée. Depuis des temps reculés, les chroniques yuen attribuent à C'iang Sên 32 P'an-na, dont la répartition d'ensemble est même précisée.<sup>(3)</sup> Mais, très curieusement, le royaume K'o'n de C'iang Tâng comprend lui aussi 32 P'an-na appelés Mo'ng, car le premier terme n'est pas employé par ces Shans immigrés de Mogaung. Ici du moins l'on sait qu'il s'agit d'une formule stéréotypée laborieusement ajustée à la carte du pays.<sup>(4)</sup> 32 P'an-na se dit en taï: *Sam sip Sông P'an-na* สามสิบสองพันนา, qui peut s'interpréter aussi par "les trois Sip Sông P'an-na." Le nombre 12 étant dans cette dernière locution une expression symbolique de la totalité, il semble bien que cette tradition n'est qu'un écho déformé de celle des Trois royaumes. Du moment que les Chinois croyaient à tort ou à raison que chaque district taï fournissait une épouse au souverain, on comprend comment a pu naître l'expression *San p'ai si fou* 三百媳婦 (trois cents femmes) qui repose sur un fonds de vérité bien que les harems royaux

214-5). Un autre groupe, mais de Lahu ou Mu-sô, est nommé "Sam tuan" (*ibid.*, p. 61, 63). Toutes ces triades sont localisées sur le même territoire.

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 139, note.

(2) G. DEVÉRIA, *La frontière* . . . , p. 264.

(3) *Ann. du Siam*, III, p. 79.

(4) *Gazetteer* . . . , I, ii, p. 373; (cf. *ibid.*, p. 395, 399; I, i, p. 329).

des Tai n'aient jamais atteint des effectifs aussi gargantuesques.<sup>(1)</sup> On pourrait sans doute rechercher si des ressemblances phonétiques ou autres n'ont pas contribué aussi à cette transposition de districts en centaines d'épouses, mais il vaut mieux s'en tenir au rapport qui s'impose entre les trois royaumes et les trois cents femmes. C'est donc très probablement par analogie avec *San pai si fou* que les 84 P'an-na du Lan Na ont été notés: *Pa pai si fou*.<sup>(2)</sup>

Un autre nom chinois du Lan Na, postérieur au premier, est *Pa pai ta tien*, c'est-à-dire le grand Tien de *Pa pai*. Les Tien (marches) sont les circonscriptions qu'établirent les Yuan dans l'Indochine occidentale lorsqu'après la conquête de Ta-li ils affermirent leur domination sur le Yunnan et les pays limitrophes.<sup>(3)</sup> Le nom de *Pa pai ta tien* se maintint sous les Ming malgré la nouvelle division de ces régions en trois *siuan* 宣 et en six *wei* 衛.<sup>(4)</sup>

84.000 qui semble avoir été à l'origine de ces noms est le nombre des Mu'ang de l'empire du héros appelé P'aya O'uang ou O'uang Lan. C'est le chiffre favori des mythes religieux, historiques et cosmogoniques dans les pays bouddhistes.<sup>(5)</sup> C'est celui des *dhammakhandu* ou unités que la tradition prétend exister dans la totalité des textes du *Tripitaka*.<sup>(6)</sup> La mer primordiale a 84.000 *yojana* de

(1) Cette tradition offre un curieux aspect. Tandis que les Chinois prêtent aux rois pai-yi (Tai du sud-ouest du Yunnan) des centaines d'épouses (*Nan tchao ye che*, trad. C. SAISON, p. 165; *Tien hi*, l.c., p. 348), les Tai en revanche en attribuent des milliers aux empereurs de Chine et du Nan-tchao. Dans les annales de C'heng T'ang, il est question d'un empereur d'une région septentrionale qui a 1.004 (*p'ên si*) épouses, toutes filles de chefs (*Gazetteer*. . . , I, ii, p. 391). Un empereur de Chine du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle aurait eu 16.000 femmes, à en croire les annales de Sên Vî (*ibid.*, p. 191). Hors du domaine légendaire, le seul appui que j'aie trouvé est le suivant: "Every Shan chief had to send daughters of his house to the King [of Burma]." (*ibid.*, I, i, p. 289).

(2) Antérieurement, j'avais été frappé de l'analogie phonétique entre *Pa si pai si fou* et "P'ôt sip si P'an-na" et j'expliquais *fou* (= P'an-na) par "circonscription" malgré l'orthographe, *si* tombant par erreur ou euphonie, ou bien pour fournir un nombre pair de caractères. Mais cette hypothèse ne rendait pas compte de *San pai si fou*, probablement plus ancien que *Pa pai si fou*.

(3) *Tien hi*, l.c., p. 161-175; E. H. PARKER in *Gazetteer*. . . , I, ii, p. 192.

(4) *Nan tchao ye che*, l.c., p. 248, note 4. M. SAISON a mal coupé les noms qui donnent un total de sept *wei*, mais *pa pai* et *ta tien* ne font qu'un.

(5) Pour le Lan Na, v. *Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 82, 84, 85, 88, 94, 170.

(6) L. FIXOT, *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*, BEFEO, XVII, v. p. 76.



profondeur et le mont Meru (*Myin mo* des légendes shanes) à deux fois cette hauteur à partir du socle abyssal. Si la chronique de Cieng Mai ne le mentionne pas dans la geste de Pāya C'u'ang, il figure à plusieurs reprises à côté de nombres inférieurs à cent dans la succession des dynasties mythiques.<sup>(1)</sup> Les 84.000 Mu'ang ou 84 P'an-na de l'empire de Pāya C'u'ang sont donc tout simplement des symboles, d'origine bouddhique, de sa grande étendue. Cet emprunt au domaine religieux fait involontairement, semble-t-il, par les Chinois pour désigner le Lan Na n'est pas unique, car ils nomment encore cet Etat, d'ailleurs en connaissance de cause : *Tseu p'ei kono*, 慈悲國 le "Pays de la compassion," c'est-à-dire le "Pays de Maitreya."<sup>(2)</sup>

L'histoire de Pāya C'u'ang pose le problème de l'existence au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'un Lan Na débordant largement à l'est les frontières du Lan Na primitif, c'est-à-dire les bassins du Nām Mē Sai et de la Mē Kōk inférieure. Les chroniques yuen permettent de se représenter l'extrême confusion ethnique qui régnait à cette époque sur cet ancien territoire. Villages et groupements lāwa et taï étaient entremêlés sans qu'il soit possible de dire avec certitude à quelle race appartenaient les princes qui détenaient l'hégémonie, dans la mesure où, comme en Europe, ce problème offre quelque sens pour des familles régnantes. Aussi on ne saura probablement jamais à quel moment les Lāwa furent supplantés par les Taï.

L'étude tentée ici n'est qu'une ébauche insuffisante pour tout autre objet que cette recherche étymologique, car elle a été faite sans l'aide des Chroniques de Mu'ang Ngo'n Yang, des Annales du Nord etc., et a été fondée, en partie, sur des textes résumés ou vulgarisés, à la lecture desquels cette histoire ne peut prétendre au relief et à la sûreté désirables. Le premier est la *Vamsamālinī* (indiquée par V), chronique pâlie du Laos occidental au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, paraphrasée dans le manuscrit laotien appelé *Nān Pāya C'u'ang Lun* dont M. Louis Finot a laissé un fort intéressant résumé.<sup>(3)</sup> Cet ouvrage remar-

(1) V. *Ann. du Siam*, III, p. 8.

(2) *T'ien hi*, l.c., p. 155, n. 1; A. J. H. CHARLIXON, *op. cit.*, II, p. 263.

(3) *BEFEO*, XVII, v, p. 151-3 (Ms. lao. n° 76 de l'EFEO). Il est regrettable que cet ouvrage dont l'intérêt est évident n'ait pas été édité, car il dissiperait peut-être quelques-unes des obscurités qui enveloppent l'histoire du Lan Na avant le temps de Māng Rai.



quable par sa forme et son étendue (il comprend 11 *phāk*) est uniquement consacré à l'histoire de son héros et constitue sans doute la meilleure source connue sur ce sujet. Le second, déjà cité, est l'ouvrage en vernaculaire appelé "Chronique de C'ieng Māi" (indiquée par X), dont la traduction par M. Camille Nottou a eu le grand mérite de rendre accessible au public européen une histoire populaire de cette région dans ses modes d'expression locaux.<sup>(1)</sup> C'est un ouvrage disparate, compilé sur des textes indigènes relatifs à C'ieng Māi, et à l'ancien Lan Na. Le manuscrit retenu par l'éditeur présente la singularité de contenir de copieux extraits de la chronique de C'ieng Sên. Bien qu'on ignore en quoi il diffère des nombreux manuscrits de la chronique de C'ieng Māi,<sup>(2)</sup> ce texte semble très satisfaisant car, en matière de chronologie, il se rapproche plus de la *Jinakālamālini*—dont on sait la valeur—que la compilation du *Pōngsawādan Yonōk*, par exemple.

Ces deux sources offrent de la généalogie et de l'histoire de P'aya C'u'ang Lun des versions ne différant que par certains détails: P'aya C'u'ang Lun (V) ou Khūn C'u'ang (X) est un prince de *Jayunagura* (V) qui, au temps où son frère aîné régnait sur cette principauté fut appelé par son oncle P'aya Lang C'u'n (V) ou Lao C'u'n (X), roi de Mu'ang Ngo'n Yang C'ieng Sên, pour repousser une attaque de P'aya Kwa (V) ou Bao Kao (X), roi du Pākān. Ce monarque "annamite", vieillard galant autant qu'obstiné, s'était vu refuser la main de la fille (X) ou des deux filles (V) de P'aya C'u'n. Furieux d'avoir été éconduit, il se mit à la tête d'une armée et envahit la principauté de C'ieng Sên. C'u'ang Lun tua le roi, défit l'armée "annamite" et reçut pour prix de sa victoire le trône de son oncle. Par la suite, il porta la guerre dans le Pākān, épousa la fille du roi défunt et se fit reconnaître souverain de cette contrée. A P'u Hu't, il reçut l'hommage de tous les princes de ces régions, y compris "le P'aya Hô", c'est-à-dire P'aya Vi't'hārat (*Videharāj*, le Yunnan). Il régna sur le Pākān et, d'après V, à la mort de son frère aîné, il agrandit son domaine du

(1) *Ann. du Siam*, III, p. 16 sqq.

(2) Nos 586, 587, 590, 1143, 1144, 1145 de la liste générale des Mss. laotiens (*BEFEO*, XVII, v, p. 175 sqq.); liste des Mss. de la Bibl. nationale de Bangkok (G. COUVES, *Doc. Laos* . . . , p. 172-3). M. NOTTON a cependant mentionné en note quelques variantes tirées de Mss. locaux, mais on peut regretter que, servi par sa connaissance exceptionnelle du yuen, il n'ait pas entrepris une étude générale de la chronique de C'ieng Māi.

Mu'ang *Jayanagara*. Ces deux territoires et celui de Mu'ang Ngo'n Yang formèrent ainsi les 84.000 Mu'ang d'où semble tiré le nom chinois du Lan Na.

La plus notable divergence entre X et V est que la première de ces versions ne parle pas de *Jayanagara* à propos de Khân C'u'ang et ignore à cette occasion, la distinction fondamentale faite par la seconde entre cette principauté et Mu'ang Ngo'n Yang. De plus, X semble admettre que P'aya C'u'ang régnait dès le début puisque, partant à la guerre, il laisse le pouvoir à son fils sous la tutelle de son oncle, lequel, d'après le contexte, régnait dans le même moment. La personnalité du frère aîné de P'aya C'u'ang y est donc inconnue. En présence de cette inconséquence et de ces obscurités, on voit combien la leçon de V est supérieure, au moins par sa cohérence, à celle de X, qu'elle éclaire entièrement et permet de corriger. La tradition relative à la réunion des deux principautés de *Jayanagara* et de Mu'ang Ngo'n Yang n'est cependant pas totalement inconnue de X qui, vers la fin du règne du P'aya C'u'ang (p. 18), appelle le Lan Na des noms doubles de "Mu'ang Yang Ngo'n C'ieng Rao" et "Mu'ang C'ieng Rao Ngo'n Yang".<sup>(1)</sup>

Outre ces deux sources fondamentales, il convient de mentionner pour être complet les versions résumées dans les originaux indigènes ou après traduction et qui, malgré leur état moins sûr, fournissent des variantes utiles en quelques points.

D'abord une version (notée C) puisée par M. Thiébaud dans la littérature de Luang-Prabang et communiquée à Mlle Madeleine Colani<sup>(2)</sup> qui, accoutumée, heureusement, à des matériaux plus consistants, lui décoche l'épithète quelque peu imméritée de "légendaire": "Les rois de Chuong appelés Thao Ni et Chuong Hau, nés à Xieng Mai, firent la conquête du Muong Ngam Nhang (ancien nom de Xieng Khouang). Ils s'installèrent à Vat Xieng Ban (tasseing de Kang Sène), source du Nam Siem, au delà de Lat Sen (terrain d'aviation)

(1) Cp. l'ancien nom de Luang-Prabang: Sieng Dong Sieng T'ong. Ces noms doubles rendent compte aussi du déplacement de la capitale de C'ieng Rao à Mu'ang Ngo'n Yang. Ces deux aspects de la question ne sont nullement inconciliables. A en croire V, Mu'ang C'ieng Rao semble être resté après cet événement le siège d'une principauté qui occupait au début de l'époque de P'aya C'u'ang une situation éminente aux côtés de Mu'ang Ngo'n Yang.

(2) *Mégalithes du Haut-Laos*, (Publ. de l'E.F.E.O.), Paris, 1935, II, p. 182, note 1. Cf. *Diet*, de GUIGNARD, s.v. Chou'ng.



[W-NW de Sieng K'uang]. Ils allèrent ensuite battre le Pakan (Annam) d'où ils allèrent vaincre le Toum Vang (Yunnan). A la fin, ils furent attaqués et déclinés par les Ho." C'est là une version qui semble indépendante de V et de X, et dont il sera sans doute facile de retrouver le texte manuscrit. Le nom de Yi K'âm Hao, second fils de P'aya C'u'ang et roi de *Javā Lau C'ang*, suivant X (p. 18), a été dédoublé pour désigner deux princes. M. Ngam Nhang (Ngo'n Yang) est considéré comme un ancien nom de S. K'uang, ce qui donne la mesure des connaissances du lettré qui a renseigné M. Thiébaux. Quant à Toum Vang [Tum Wang] qui désignerait le Yunnan, je n'ai jamais entendu rien de tel à la frontière de Chine non plus qu'à Luang-Prabang ni à Vientiane. Il faut probablement rétablir : (Čau) lūm fa "empereur" ou, avec le même sens, un hypothétique mais possible : (Čau) lūm (fa) vōng.<sup>(1)</sup> Il n'y a pas lieu de s'intéresser plus avant à cette version dans sa forme actuelle malgré les précisions qu'elle semble apporter sur le passage du conquérant au Trān-ninh. Bornons nous à constater qu'elle atteste l'existence d'un état oriental, si l'on peut dire, de la geste de P'aya C'u'ang.

On citera ensuite les Annales du Lan Na (figurées par L) traduites par le lieutenant cambodgien Oum, de la mission Pavie, texte non édité auquel renvoie M. P. Lefèvre-Pontalis dans son étude sur les Yuen<sup>(2)</sup> : P'aya C'u'ang, appelé Lao C'u'ang, y est présenté comme un roi de M. Ngo'n Yang monté sur le trône en 1075. Cette version résume très exactement celle de X.

La Chronique de *Nagara P'ing C'ēng Māi*<sup>(3)</sup> (indiquée par N) consacre deux lignes à cette histoire : "Chào Praya Chūang, qui régnait à Mūang Phu Kam Yao (P'rayāo) vers 489 de la *Culasakarāja* (1120 A. D.), conquît Lan Xạng et le pays Kéo ou Annam; étant né dans une période de troubles, il était très hardi....". On peut croire qu'il y a eu confusion dans ce texte entre P'ayāo et C'ēng Sên, villes qui, d'après M. Notton, étaient appelées toutes deux M. Ngo'n Yang.

(1) Au siècle dernier, le vice-roi du Yunnan était appelé par les Laotiens "Čau fa vōng" (*Rev. Indo-Chin.*, 1907, p. 1225).

(2) *Toung Pao*, 1911, p. 184.

(3) *Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 19, note 3. Cf. G. MASPERO, *La Géographie politique de l'Indochine aux environs de 960 A.D.*, *Et. Asiat.*, II, p. 97, n. 5, citant la chronique de M. P'ayāo, (*P.Y.*, xvii, p. 128, 129, 440), qui ne dit pas que P'aya C'u'ang fut le souverain de cette principauté.



Enfin, les Annales de C'ïeng T'ung<sup>(1)</sup> contiennent une version très altérée (indiquée par T) de l'histoire de P'aya C'u'ang appelé *P'aya C'ing* (*Hsing*) et devenu un des fils de M'ang Rai. C'est la défense de C'ïeng T'ung contre l'armée d'un prince yunnanais, mongol ou chinois (*Wong ti fang*) que notre héros dirigea. Grâce aux vertus d'un joyau et d'un guerrier appelés *C'ëng Tô* (*Hseng tau*), l'armée étrangère fut défaite. Son chef dut demander la paix et donner sa fille en mariage à P'aya C'ing.

La première question que pose V, texte de base, est l'identification de *Jayanagara*. M. Finot a reproduit la glose *M. K'a Xuy*, nom que je ne retrouve nulle part, et localise ce toponyme à C'ïeng Rai. Cette ville (en pâli *Jamrāyapura*) ne fut fondée, c'est-à-dire occupée par les Tai, qu'en 1262 et c'est seulement une vingtaine d'années plus tard que les Yuen conquièrent l'hégémonie dans le sud du Lan Na.<sup>(2)</sup> X. donne à *Jayanagara* (orthographié parfois fautivement *Yavi*, *Jamvava*) l'équivalent indigène de M. C'ïeng Rao et précise que sa contrée est celle du Nâm Mè Sai,<sup>(3)</sup> proche du lieu où fut fondé C'ïeng Sên, donc à une distance suffisante de cette capitale pour qu'une principauté distincte ait pu exister. P'aya Prācākī Korācāk l'appelle *Jayapuri*. Cet ancien site de C'ïeng Rao est placé par les Annales du Lan Na au pied du Dōi T'a (Lao), sommet septentrional des Dōi Sam Sao au nord-ouest du C'ïeng Sên actuel, sur la limite de l'Etat de C'ïeng T'ung.<sup>(4)</sup>

D'après X, T, N et probablement L, P'aya C'u'ang fut tué dans le combat qu'il livra "au pont de pierre" contre les *Mên ta l'ók* au cours de la campagne qu'il avait entreprise pour s'emparer de leur royaume.

(1) *Gazetteer*, . . I, li, p. 398-9.

(2) V. G. COEDÈS, *Doc. Laos*, . . , p. 86-89.

(3) C'est en effet le nom de "Sai" que le pâli *Jaya* permet de restituer. V. P. Y., p. 74 (d'après *Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 205), bien qu'il s'agisse d'un autre Nâm Mè Sai, affluent d'un tributaire de la Mè Kōk. Cf. *Jayasenapura* (C'ïeng Sên), *Jayapuri* *Grī C'ang Sên* (C'ïeng Sên Nōi), *Jayanāyana* (l'ancien site de C'ïeng Rai, dans une île du Mékong, près de C'ïeng Sên) (P. Y., textes, p. 28, cités in *Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 176, n. 3). Il est à remarquer que les légendes traduites dans le vol. I de cet ouvrage ne parlent pas de *Jirā*; *Jayanagara* bien connu de la chronique de C'ïeng Mai (vol. III) est confondu dans la chronique de *Sinhanavati* (*ibid.*, I, p. 163) avec *Jayanāyana*.

(4) V. P. LEPÈVRE-PONTALIS, *L'invasion thaïe*, . . , *Toung Pao*, oct. 1902, p. 500; C. NOTTON, *Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 144.

Cet épisode semble ne pas appartenir authentiquement à l'histoire de ce prince et y avoir été joint à la suite d'un rapprochement qui s'imposait aux Yuen mais dont la nature m'échappe. La version V ignore tout de cette ultime expédition et fait mourir le roi au Pakân, d'où ses ossements furent transportés à C'ieng Mâi (*sic*) pour être déposés dans un T'at. La deuxième partie de son règne dans les autres versions forme à elle seule un épisode semi-légendaire de la chronique de *Suvanna K'āṇḍeng*,<sup>(1)</sup> mais les ressemblances sont des plus vagues entre ce passage et les récits de la première partie du règne de P'aya C'u'ang. Il s'agit d'un prince élevé à *Ramanahina*<sup>(2)</sup> et qui est appelé bizarrement P'aya Mên ta t'ók, du nom des ennemis de P'aya C'u'ang. A la mort de ses deux frères aînés, il régna sur *Jethapuri* (Wieng C'et lin) ou *Vesāli*. On ne peut espérer de ce texte au point de vue historique que des indications pour couper et interpréter l'expression "Mên ta t'ók K'ók fa Ta yu'n" figurant dans toutes les autres sources, sauf V et L, comme l'ethnique de l'ennemi. Le générique est "Mên ta t'ók". "K'ók fa" est justement traduit par M. Notton "pays du ciel", c'est-à-dire, comme on pourrait le démontrer, l'ancien Yunnan et les Etats shans. "Ta yu'n" semble être un nom chinois, mais je lirais plutôt *Ta jen* 大人 "mandarin". En effet, *ta yun* 大雲 "grands nuages" ne forme pas locution et son rapprochement avec Yun-nan "sud des nuages" me semble gratuit. X maltraite à plaisir l'expression entière en la tronçonnant chaque fois d'une façon différente et en y ajoutant le nom de *K'eo* "Annamite" qui devient même *K'eo Mên*, peut-être par réminiscence de *K'āmen* "Khmers".<sup>(3)</sup> Ces variations incohérentes du chroniqueur s'expliquent aisément: cet ethnique actuellement inusité est incompris et l'on ignore à quelle population il s'appliquait. M. Mên est le nom taï de P'ou-eul et les Chinois l'ad-

(1) *Ann. du Siam*, I, pp. 18-22.

(2) C'est une ville du pays anciennement occupé par les Mon. P.Y. cite un *Ramanijamandanānagara* d'où était originaire une partie de la suite de *Camnaderi* (p. 69) et un *Rāmananagara*, près de Lavo (p. 61). La première de ces villes est appelée *Rammaniya* par la Chronique de Lāmp'un (*Ann. du Siam*, II, p. 12). Le *Cér.* parle d'un *Rammanagara*, au sud de la grande relique de Lāmp'un (G. Cœdès, *Doc. Laos.*, p. 76, n. 1, 2; p. 74, n. 8).

(3) M. G. MASPERO (*loc. cit.*, p. 97) laisse entendre que les ennemis de P'aya C'u'ang furent les Khmers.



mettent pour désigner la région comprise entre cette ville et Mo'ng Ting (Mèng Ma). Peut-être est-ce là qu'il faut localiser l'ancien groupe ethnique de ce nom que tous les témoignages indigènes placent au nord? V, X et L s'accordent à dire que P'áya C'u'ang se fit couronner roi du P'ákân, c'est-à-dire de l'Annam (N et C lui attribuent seulement la conquête de ce royaume), alors que la dynastie des Ly n'a pas pris fin par l'accession au trône d'un conquérant étranger. Mais cet obstacle n'est pas insurmontable. Par une disposition d'esprit fâcheuse en matière de toponymie, les Tai donnent aux noms de contrées non seulement les sens restreint et étendu mais encore, se rattachant à ce dernier, un sens vague se traduisant par "pays en direction de . . . . .". Par exemple, le royaume lu' était appelé au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle par les Tai du sud : M. Lu', M. C'ieng Rông, S. S. P'an-na et aussi M. Hò, le "Pays chinois."<sup>(1)</sup> La raison d'orientation n'était d'ailleurs pas seule en cause, car c'est à M. C'è ou à C'ieng Hông que les Mongols avaient placé le siège de leur administration des pays tai méridionaux. A moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une confusion de traditions dont la plus ancienne remonterait à la conquête du Tonkin par les troupes du Nan-tchao (862-6), le M. P'ákân de nos textes ne serait pas nécessairement l'Annam, mais un pays limitrophe dépendant plus ou moins étroitement de ce royaume. C'est ainsi que l'interprète M. Le Boulanger<sup>(2)</sup> dans une autre circonstance et vraisemblablement d'après la leçon d'une de ses sources indigènes. Pour cet auteur, le P'ákân est formé par les pays tai du haut Tonkin et de la Rivière Noire. Pour P'áya Prác'akít Korác'ák, le *Culānīnagara* จุลินบุรี, un des noms pâlis du P'ákân, c'est le Tonkin, sa haute région occidentale et les Hua-p'an.<sup>(3)</sup> Il faut encore remarquer que le pays d'Annam est appelé dans certains textes "P'ákân luang", ce qui laisserait croire que le P'ákân proprement dit n'est pas le centre historique de ce royaume. Le nom même de "P'áya C'u'ang", qui signifie "le roi des C'u'ang", nous en apporte une preuve plus concluante. Les traditions laotiennes laissent supposer

(1) Les célèbres puits salins de M. Loang (sic pour Bô lóng) Bô Hé, que la Chronique de C'ieng Mái place "à la frontière des Hò" au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (*Ann. du Siam*, III, p. 78), se trouvent dans les S. S. P'an-na, au S.-E. de M. La.

(2) *Hist. du Laos*, p. 32 (cf. L. Fricot, *op. laot.*, p. 162).

(3) *P. Y.*, p. 2, d'après *Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 95, note 4. *Culānī* semble la forme pâlisée de "C'u'ang".



que le pays d'origine de cette population était situé quelque part entre le Měkhong et le Tràn-ninh. La légende de Khūn Bôlôm attribue en partage à C'et C'u'ang, dont le nom a déjà été rapproché de cet ethnique, le M. Puôn, c'est-à-dire le Tràn-ninh et la haute vallée du Nām Nêp, et non le Pākân.<sup>(1)</sup> D'après les renseignements recueillis par le colonel Gerini,<sup>(2)</sup> les C'u'ang (C'hiengs) seraient les Lawa: Lawās ou C'hiengs, "leurs ancêtres avaient fondé plusieurs siècles av. J.-C. un puissant Etat qui s'étendait à l'est jusqu'aux frontières du Tonkin. Leur chef ou roi, appelé Khūn Chūang résidait dans la ville de C'hieng Chūang, appelée actuellement C'hieng Chūng, située quelque part vers Muang Lem, près de la ligne de partage des eaux entre le Mě-không et la Salwīn."<sup>(3)</sup> Ce sont aussi les C'hiengs qui établirent le fameux Etat de Muang Yōng ou *Mahiyāngana-nagara*,<sup>(4)</sup> plus bas dans la vallée du Mě-không. Celui-ci fut détruit, ainsi que nous l'apprend la chronique de Muang Yōng, environ 100 ans avant l'ère bouddhique, c'est-à-dire vers 644 av. J.-C. par Sumanda Kumāra, le second fils du chef tai de C'hieng Rung, qui tua tous les chefs C'hieng et se proclama souverain du pays. Les C'hiengs en déroute s'enfuirent vers le Lan C'hāng et s'établirent le long du Mě-không."

L'extrait de la Chronique de M. Yōng avait déjà été publié par Francis Garnier dans *Voyage d'exploration*<sup>(5)</sup> et par Holt S. Hallett dans *Historical Sketch of the Shans*.<sup>(6)</sup> Ce dernier précise qu'il

(1) V. *suprà*, p. 92, note 2.

(2) *Researches*... p. 119, note 1. GRÉHAN (*Le roy. de Siam*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., p. 6) orthographie cet ethnique: Xong.

(3) Les Lu' disent "C'hieng C'u'ng". Cette localité qui a joué un rôle indiscutable dans l'histoire des Lu' est située près du Nām Ha, au sud de M. Cê (M. Kié de PAVIE, M. Sa de DAVIES), à 18 milles de M. Hun. Sur une carte chinoise autographe des S. S. P'ân-na, elle est marquée: T'ing chen 丁陳. Les Chinois du "général" Ko tsang kouai y ont livré en 1929 un combat sanglant contre les troupes du gouverneur de P'ou-enl (Cf. G. AYME, *Monographie du Ye Terr. milit.*, Hanoi, 1930, p. 125).

(4) La forme palie usuelle serait *Mahiyāgaratthapurī* (Cf. *Ann. du Siam*, III, p. 240-1; *Gazetteer*..., I, ii, p. 436).

(5) I, p. 472.

(6) In A. R. COLQUHOUN, *Amongst the Shans*... N'ayant pu consulter cet ouvrage, je le cite d'après W. W. COCHRANE, *The Shans*, p. 42-3 et W. C. DODD, *The Tai Race*, p. 10.

s'agit des Karen, mais c'est une erreur car, par exception, l'ethnique taï "Yāng" prête à confusion. Alors qu'au Siam et en Birmanie, il désigne en général les Karen (Yāng rouges, blancs, etc.), les Yāng noirs de la frontière sino-birmane sont des Riāng, groupe appartenant linguistiquement au palaung-wa, qui est, comme on le sait, bien différent du sino-taï dans lequel on range le karen. La date indiquée, qui est 100 ans avant l'ère bouddhique, est désespérée. La version de Francis Garnier, plus détaillée, a des chances d'avoir été traduite correctement en cambodgien, car Alévy (calambour pour Ālavī, le moderne C'ieng Hāng), l'interprète de la mission Doudart de Lagrée, était un Lu' habitant le Cambodge où il avait été religieux. Le nom des "sauvages" n'y est pas précisé. Dans ces deux textes, Sunanda Saddhu Kumāra est donné comme le fondateur taï de la ville fortifiée de C'ieng C'u'ang (X. Chang) après autorisation du roi des C'u'ang. Cette tradition est remarquable par son absence de tout merveilleux et parce qu'elle nous fait assister à l'infiltration des Taï, d'abord sujets K'a, puis au coup de force par lequel ils s'emparent de l'hégémonie. C'est de cette manière, comme l'on sait, que les Taï ont agi en certains points pour cheminer vers le sud. Dans la note du colonel Gerini figurent confrontées les traditions des Taï et celles des Lāwa sur cet événement: Elles reviennent à dire que le pays (ou royaume) des C'u'ang s'étendait alors du Mékhong à la Rivière Noire et que ces K'a émigrèrent vers l'est lors de la conquête des régions méridionale et occidentale des S. S. P'an-na. Dans le haut Laos où leur souvenir persiste, les K'a C'u'ang, qui se sont révoltés en 1876, sont considérés comme des membres de la famille Kmu et, au dire des vieillards, leur habitat était la contrée s'étendant entre M. Ngoi, sur le moyen Nām U, et les Hua-P'an. De fait, M. Pavie<sup>(2)</sup> indique que les anciens K'a de cette région s'appelaient "Liants" (pour Riāng). L'affluent du Mékhong qui draine la région au nord-est de Luang-Prabang est orthographié "Nām Su'ang" et aussi "C'u'ang". Comme conclusion à ces témoignages divers, on voit que cet ethnique tombé en désuétude s'appliquait à des groupes indonésiens de langues mon-khmères habitant le haut Siam et le haut Laos.

(1) *V. Gazetteer* . . , I, i, p. 519-521.

(2) *Mission PAVIE, Etudes diverses*, II, p. 21.



Il est, en somme, l'équivalent de "K'a C'ê" chez les Yuen, de "P'u l'ô'ng" au Trân-ninh et de "Doy" aux S. S. Pân-na. La migration vers l'est des K'a de cette famille paraît être confirmée par la carte ethnologique actuelle. Des Kmu habitent le Tonkin<sup>(1)</sup> et les Hua-pân à côté d'autres groupes apparentés.<sup>(2)</sup> P'u Hu't, l'endroit du sacre, "lieu uni et large de 1.200 brasses", est probablement une plaine au pied du P'u Huat,<sup>(3)</sup> montagne (*p'u* en laotien *oriental*), située dans la province de Vinh, près de la frontière du Laos. S'il est possible que le souverain annamite ait assisté à cette cérémonie, le P'aya Hô "le roi des Chinois" qui présidait est peut-être tout simplement un prince dont l'empereur de Ta-li avait fait un gouverneur *in partibus* des pays *Pa-pai*. Dans la chronique de C'ieng Mâi, il est en effet appelé: *C'âu lām fa* (empereur, titre "usurpé" par les souverains nan-tchao) *p'âu p'i man* (des barbares du *Pa pai*), transcription taï de *pa pai man*. Ainsi les 84 Pân-na sous leur déguisement sino-nan-tchao sont revenus figurer par des voies singulières dans un texte taï, seul écho que l'on puisse percevoir du nom chinois du Lan Na dans les chroniques locales. Au sacre d'un roi du P'ākān vivant à l'époque de Māng Rāi, X mentionne la présence d'un P'aya Hô qui n'est plus appelé *p'âu p'i man*, et ce passage, qui est tiré visiblement de la même source que l'histoire de P'aya C'u'ang, oppose l'ancien et le nouveau titre comme s'il s'agissait de noms. C'est qu'entre temps, en 1253, le royaume de Ta-li s'était écroulé sous les coups des Mongols.<sup>(4)</sup>

Les dates de ces événements offrent encore moins de certitude que celles hésitantes de l'époque de Māng Rāi, selon le vice fondeur des chroniques taï relatives aux époques anciennes. Dans l'exposé qui suit, on a simplement cherché à rétablir entre les deux versions V et X une concordance toute provisoire sans toucher aux noms cycliques, considérés par postulat comme l'élément le moins sujet à caution.

(1) [Colonel] H. Roux, *Les Thaï Mu...*, BEFEO, XXVII, p. 169 sqq.

(2) MACEY, *Études ethnographiques sur les Khua*, Rev. Indo-Chin., 1907, p. 871 et *passim*.

(3) C' écrit en effet "Phou Heut".

(4) *Ann. du Siam*, III, p. 17, 28; *Nan tchao ya che*, *l.c.*, p. 110-2.



V indique que C'ôm Rat, le père de C'u'ang Lun, régnait en 480 C. S., mais l'année cyclique *tao sê* conduit à rejeter cette date et à lui substituer 444 C. S. (1082 A. D.). Celle-ci correspond probablement à l'avènement de ce prince ou à un fait marquant de son règne. X ne contient qu'une seule indication de cette nature, mais elle est apparemment précise. Ce sont les éléments chronologiques du couronnement de P'aya C'u'ang au P'ākān "à l'heure Kōng ngai (vers 9 heures) le troisième (mardi), 9 [e jour] de la lune croissante du quatrième mois de l'année *Kap si*".<sup>(1)</sup> Le millésime manque, mais le nom cyclique fournit la date de 486 C. S. (1124 A. D.).

En reconstituant, d'après les indications de X, les dates de la naissance, de l'avènement et du décès des ancêtres de Māng Rai (elles figurent ci-dessous dans cet ordre), à partir de 1239 A. D., date de la naissance du grand souverain, on obtient le tableau suivant :

K'ân C'u'ang	
1059, 1095 (m. Ngo'n Yang) et 1119 (P'ākān), + 1136.	
Lao Ngo'n Ruang <sup>(2)</sup>	
1093, 1136, + 1152.	
Lao C'u'n	
1111, 1152, + 1173.	
Lao Mu'ng	(Ming)
1148, 1173, + 1194.	
Lao Mo'ng	(Mu'ang)
1159, 1194, + 1219.	
Lao Mōng	
1184, 1219, + 1259.	
Māng Rai	
1239, 1259 ?, + 1317 ?	

(1) Je n'ai pu vérifier la concordance du jour de la semaine et du quantième par la méthode FARAUT, mais je doute qu'à une époque aussi reculée, avec les remaniements de calendrier dont l'histoire a gardé le souvenir, elle puisse donner des résultats probants.

(2) Il y a une erreur de chiffres dans le texte au sujet de ce souverain. J'ai retenu l'indication de la durée du règne (16 ans).

Il n'y a pas grand'chose à attendre pour l'instant d'une pareille chronologie où rien n'est sûr ni même cohérent.<sup>(1)</sup> Une vérification, qu'on pourrait appeler plaisamment la recherche en paternité, montre que Lao Mu'ng aurait été père à 11 ans. Il est bien probable également que les règnes des deux frères C'u'ang distingués par V ont été confondus. Cependant, pour qu'il y ait accord entre ses données et les dates cycliques de deux faits indiscutablement successifs, le règne de C'ôm Rat, d'après V, et le sacre de P'āya C'u'ang au Pākān, d'après X, il faut adopter pour ces deux événements les dates indiquées plus haut et non celles du cycle suivant. De cette manière, ce couronnement qui aurait eu lieu en 1119, d'après la chronologie, se trouve correspondre aux indications particulières de X qui fournissent 1124. Et c'est justement à une date très voisine, 1120, que N fait régner P'āya C'u'ang. Cette concordance obligerait donc à reculer de quelques décades l'époque à laquelle V et M. Finot ont placé cette histoire.

La version N fait de P'āya C'u'ang le conquérant du Lan Sang (en yuen, Lan C'ang; le haut Laos). Si elles ne fournissent aucune preuve

(1) Il faut cependant noter en sa faveur que le nombre des règnes entre Lāvacaṅgarāja (Lao Cōng) et Māng Rai est à une unité près celui de la Jkm et de P.Y. (G. Cornès, *Doc. Laos* . . . , p. 87, référant à P.Y., p. 442-4). En général, les chroniqueurs tai font cadrer tant bien que mal entre deux dates mémorables les règnes qui les séparent. Par contre, le nombre de ceux-ci est assez digne de foi. Dans le cas présent, la date reculée est le début de la petite ère correspondant à l'avènement de Lao Cōng ou Lao Cōk (Lāvacaṅgarāja de X et de la Jkm.; Lāvacaṅkadevarāja de V), mais la période de cinq siècles qui s'est écoulée depuis cette origine jusqu'à P'āya C'u'ang est bien longue pour que cette méthode soit applicable sans précautions. On notera l'existence d'un palon intermédiaire, celui du choix de M. Ngo'ng Yang comme capitale, fait que les chroniques locales s'accordent à placer sous le règne de Lao K'ieng. (La chron. de C'ieng Māi insère sous son nom une version légendaire de ce fait). Ce souverain aurait régné de 889 à 925 A.D., d'après les Annales du Lan Na traduites par le lieut. OUX (P. LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS, *Toung pao*, oct. 1909, p. 500). La chronologie de X fait durer le règne de Lao Cōng plus de 120 ans et place l'avènement de Lao K'ieng en 935 A.D. On est donc fondé à croire, comme l'a entrevu P'āya Prāc'akūt (*Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 207) que le règne historique de Lao Cōng, premier souverain de la dynastie des Lao, se termina en 757 ou 759. Comme la petite ère a une origine hindoue et que les chroniqueurs yuen étaient désireux d'en faire une ère nationale, ils ont fait coïncider bien maladroitement l'avènement du premier roi historique du Lan Na avec le point de départ de ce comput (Cf. L. FINOT, *op. laud.*, p. 152, n. 1).



décisive de ce fait, les chroniques laotiennes le laissent présumer avec le maximum de probabilité. Malgré leurs incertitudes irrémédiables, ces sources ont un accent de vérité unanimement reconnu lorsqu'elles rapportent que ce territoire fut conquis sur les K'a vassaux des Khmèrs à une date relativement basse.<sup>(1)</sup> En rapprochant la liste des premiers souverains de ce royaume dans laquelle le nombre des règnes a quelque sûreté de celle des souverains du Lan Na (dynastie des Lao), on voit que K'un Kan Hang prédécesseur de K'un Lô, de la première et K'un C'u'ang, de la seconde ont régné à peu près vers la même époque.<sup>(2)</sup> Le seul partage de territoires mentionné par V et X dans le style des versions birmano-taï de la légende d'Açoka est celui auquel P'aya C'u'ang aurait procédé et c'est à cette occasion que le Lan Sang est cité pour la première fois dans ces textes. Cependant, ils passent sous silence cet événement important pour l'histoire des Taï que fut la conquête de ce territoire situé un peu au sud de l'itinéraire direct conduisant du Lan Na au P'akán. Mais puisque K'un Lô est présenté dans une histoire tardive et indépendante comme le fils du mythique *Parumá* (Bôrôm, Bôlôm), on est conduit à admettre que celui-ci fut dans la réalité un grand monarque paré postérieurement d'un nom et de certains attributs légendaires, comme P'râ Ruang dans l'histoire siamoise. Les chroniques yuen, qui ont recueilli et transmis l'histoire des Mon et des Lwa civilisés habitant le territoire du Lan Na, ont quitté les limbes de la période mythique vers le VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ainsi à l'époque où l'histoire du Lan Sang cesse d'être légendaire, celle de Lan Na a depuis plusieurs siècles des caractères de réalité. Cette utile constatation nous incite à croire que K'un Bôlôm dans son avatar de père de K'un Lô est P'aya C'u'ang conquérant de M. Swa et du P'akán d'après N. K'un Lô qui se dit aussi K'un Lao,<sup>(3)</sup> le conquérant du Lan Sang d'après les chroniques locales, mais plutôt son premier roi prétendu taï,

(1) P. LERÈVRE-POSTALIS (*L'invasion thaïe* . . . , T'oung pao, oct. 1909, p. 497) croit que l'arrivée de K'un Lô à M. Swa eut lieu au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais l'auteur a disposé un peu trop librement de ses sources.

(2) Liste des rois du Lan Sang dans P. LE BOULANGER, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40. Elle comprend 14 K'un et 6 Lao après K'un Lô. Le *P'ongsawadlan Mu'ang Lao* donne 15 K'un et 6 Lao pour la même période (L. FIXOT, *op. laud.*, p. 150. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 164).

(3) D'après la Charte en faveur de Wât Kéo (1605), un des meilleurs textes laotiens (*Ibid.*, p. 167).



serait K'ân Hao ou Lao, deuxième fils (Yi) de P'āya C'u'ang<sup>(1)</sup> et précisément le premier souverain de cette principauté mentionné par X. V parle bien auparavant d'un royaume de *Labū* (=des Lao, d'après une glose fantaisiste et laborieuse de la Charte de Wāt Kêo), distinct de *Jayanagara* et de M. Ngo'n Yang, mais ce nom paraît être une mauvaise lecture du traducteur indigène pour *Lāvo* (Lophuri), car il ne figure qu'à titre épisodique dans ce texte.

Si la geste de P'āya C'u'ang m'a paru mériter un premier examen critique, c'est qu'il semble impossible de croire qu'elle ait été imaginée de toutes pièces. La gerbe disparate de traditions que j'ai réunie tend, précisément par l'indépendance de ses éléments, à donner un caractère sinon de certitude, du moins de haute probabilité aux faits essentiels de la vie de ce prince. Malheureusement, dans ces pays aux traditions ravagées et fardées, où tout essai historique prend les formes revêches de l'exégèse, on ne peut se flatter de séparer d'une main sûre la vérité de la légende. La preuve décisive de la réalité de ces faits serait évidemment de les retrouver, au moins à l'état de traces, dans l'histoire d'Annam. Or celle-ci ne renferme rien de probant à cet égard.<sup>(2)</sup> Lorsqu'elle sera mieux connue (elle n'est guère avancée malgré l'excellence de quelques études particulières et la masse de documents dont elle dispose) peut-être y trouvera-t-on

(1) Et non de Lāi-chiu, comme l'a écrit P'āya Prāc'akūt (*P. I.*, p. 31, 11° lig., cité d'après *Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 1, n. 5). Tous les ouvrages sur le Laos rapportent cette légende. La seule version fidèle est celle traduite par M. Fixot (*Op. laud.*, p. 160-1). Noter que certaines localisent ce mythe à M. Fang, dans les montagnes à l'est de M. T'eng.

(2) G. COGNÈS, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, I face IV, de la stèle, 1.2-3, trad., p. 47.

(3) Le P. CADIÈRE (*Tableau chronologique des dynasties annamites*, BEFEO, V, p. 94-5) indique, d'après les meilleures sources locales, que le fondateur de la dynastie des Trân, l'empereur Trân Thái-tôn (1225-1258), n'était pas d'origine annamite, car ses ancêtres étaient des "Mon" (𐄎) (chinois Min) qui s'étaient établis au Tonkin. Le caractère employé laisserait supposer qu'ils venaient du Foukien, mais il est plus vraisemblable de croire qu'il s'agit d'un ethnique appartenant à des montagnards du Tonkin. C'est celui qu'emploient les Lolo de ce pays pour se désigner. Au "chapeau" près, c'est un caractère analogue prononcé *lan* (𐄎) (orchidées) qui sert à certains Yao, les Cao lan, à noter leur propre générique (V. A. BOXIFACY, *Bull. et Mém. de la Soc. d'Anth. de Paris*, 5 juillet 1906, p. 315). C'est la seule indication qui pourrait avoir quelque rapport avec la légende yuen dans les travaux historiques des P. LAUNAY et CADIÈRE et de M. M. H. MASPERO et de TRU'Ō'Ō-VŨN-K'Ũ.

les reconpements qui nous fixeront sur la part de réalité et la chronologie exacte des aventures de P'aya C'u'ang.

En attendant, examinons le problème dans son ensemble et voyons si le fait essentiel qu'il nous propose, l'extension du Lan Na jusqu'au Tonkin, peut s'insérer sans trop de peine dans l'histoire de la péninsule indochinoise au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Les chroniques yuen<sup>(1)</sup> ne contiennent que deux traditions indiquant d'une façon précise les limites du Lan Na. La première se rapporte aux temps de la domination khmère et la seconde à la chute de celle-ci. Dans la seconde, le territoire du Lan Na atteignait à l'est le Fleuve Rouge (Nám T'ê luang), exactement l'embouchure du Nám Mu'a ou Sóng Bú'a, à l'ouest la ligne de partage des eaux de la Salween et du Mékhong, au nord les frontières méridionales du royaume de Ta-li et au sud celles du royaume de Lāvo (Lavarattha), soit l'embouchure de la Mě P'ing. Sans doute, il y a des divergences de détails entre les versions, mais on voit très clairement qu'elles reposent sur des négligences de lecture. Nám T'ê, la Rivière Noire, pour Nám T'ê luang et Varattha, dont M. Notton a fait un royaume lāwa pour Lavarattha. Ce qui plait dans cette tradition dès son abord c'est sa crédibilité. Ses prétentions sont modestes et elle ne nous entraîne pas à la suite de M. P. Lefèvre-Pontalis jusqu'au pont de fer de Lī-kiang. A l'ouest, son horizon est très limité: une centaine de kilomètres à partir du Mékhong. Reste la question fondamentale de date. Dans le pot-pourri assez indigeste qu'est la chronique de Sīnhanavati où quelques fragments ont une apparence historique, cette carte politique est associée, comme on l'a déjà dit, à

(1) Chron. de Sīnhanavati (*Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 146, 147, 168), P.F. textes, p. 22 (cité *ibid.*, p. 146, n. 4) (Cl. G. MASPERO, *Et. as.*, II, p. 95, n. 1). A juste titre, les chroniqueurs yuen et P'aya Prāc'akīti ne comprennent pas le royaume de Ta-li dans les pays t'ai *Yamkura(tha)*. Il faut noter qu'à l'inverse des lettrés shans, les Yuen écrivent toujours, par une confusion dont on voit la cause "Nong Sē" (lac de Ta-li) pour "Mo'ng Sē", t'ai yunnanais oriental: Mōng Sē; (Yuen: C'u'ang Cē), nom shan du royaume de Ta-li. La capitale s'appelle en pāli *Mūhālā* et en t'ai K'ē: M. Kuo. Cp. avec le nom de "Ta-mong Kouo" donné au futur Nan-tchao, en 649, par le roi Sī-nou-lo. En dépit de la glose *Krāsā*=bras de fleuve, la confusion entre "Mōng" et "Nōng" est apparente dans P.F. (*ibid.*, p. 120) qui écrit: "le chemin... dans le Nōng Krāsē". Il est vrai que, devant cette anomalie, on précise qu'il s'agit d'un chemin pour *nāga*.



la chute de la domination khmère au Lan Na, événement qui est postérieur au milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>(1)</sup> Cela nous suffirait, s'il en était besoin, pour écarter la date mythique du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. indiquée par ce texte et dont le remaniement est dû aux préoccupations religieuses et au pédantisme ingénu des chroniqueurs. Le recul de la domination khmère du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles a été jalonné avec sûreté par les orientalistes français.<sup>(2)</sup> Au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui nous intéresse spécialement, Sūryavarman II, roi du Cambodge et conquérant du Campā, attaqua le Nghê-an à plusieurs reprises et essuya chaque fois un échec. En 1137, en particulier, le Campā étant "fermé", les Khmères empruntèrent la route du Laos et le col de Hâ-trai. A l'ouest, quelques années tard, Āditarāja, roi mon de Lamp'un dont le territoire confinait au sud-est avec l'empire de Sūryavarman II, résistait victorieusement aux attaques des Khmères de Lāvo. Ainsi, vers le premier quart du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, il est vraisemblable que la domination khmère ne dépassait pas d'une façon générale le 18<sup>e</sup> parallèle. Le Lan Na ne pouvait s'étendre à l'ouest, car il se serait heurté aux États shans dont la puissance augmentait de jour en jour sous la suzeraineté nominale de Pagan. Au nord, l'État dominant était le royaume lu' d'Ālavī, l'Ālaviratt̃ha, ၵုၤလၢဝီၤ, de la littérature pâlie taï, dont la capitale se trouvait probablement encore à M. C'ā. Il était enserré alors dans des chefferies d'autochtones dont la mieux attestée fut le "royaume" lāwa de Khemaratt̃ha, le futur C'ieng Tung, et il dépendait sinon de M. Māu tout au moins de Sēn-wi (Kosambi).<sup>(3)</sup> Quels que fussent leurs éléments ethniques respectifs, le royaume d'Ālavī était encore lié au Lan Na avec lequel il avait constitué autrefois le Yonakaratt̃ha, mais ce nouveau rapport politique

(1) BEFEO, XVIII, iii, p. 32 sqq.

(2) Pour le Laos proprement dit par M. Henri MASPERO (*ibid.*), étude capitale omise par M. LE BOULANGER, et pour le "Laos occidental" par M. G. CORDÉS (*Doc. Laos* . . , p. 23-6). Une étude de cette période a été donnée par M. G. MASPERO dans *Études Asiatiques* (II, p. 91 sqq.) à propos de la géographie politique de l'Indochine au X<sup>e</sup> siècle.

(3) Cf. P. Y., préface, p. 15, 24, 31 (d'après G. MASPERO, *loc. cit.* p. 93, n. 5 et 94, n. 6). Ces vues seront justifiées dans un ouvrage en préparation sur les Lu'. Également la solution proposée pour Kosambi, royaume que G. E. HARVEY (*Hist. of Burma* . . , p. 323) qualifie de mythique (fabulous) malgré les précisions apportées par les chroniques shanes et laotiennes (Ambassade au Lan Sang au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle).



devait être simplement d'alliance. (C'est d'une princesse lui que naîtra un siècle plus tard le fameux Māng Rāi). Les autres régions principales du Yunnan méridional paraissent avoir été tenues fortement par les Taï indépendants du royaume de Ta-li, bien que celui-ci conservât encore puissance et prestige.<sup>(1)</sup> A l'est, l'Annam (Dai-viêt) n'a aucune autorité sur les régions du nord-ouest, c'est-à-dire sur le Fleuve Rouge, la Rivière Noire et l'arrière pays de Thanh-hóa et du Nghê-an et ce n'est pas sans raison qu'un ouvrage chinois écrit en 1178, le *Ling wai tai fu*, n'a aucune connaissance des divisions administratives dans ces directions. Il précise cependant qu'à l'ouest, il y a une route de terre qui traverse le pays des Barbares Paï-y.<sup>(2)</sup> c'est-à-dire des Taï. Ce témoignage d'une grande autorité nous prouve que les Taï occupaient déjà au moins les Hua-p'an et y détenaient l'hégémonie.

On voit ainsi que l'extension du Lan Na jusqu'au Fleuve Rouge ne se heurte à aucune impossibilité et même qu'elle est de nature à expliquer le silence du *Ling wai tai fu* sur cette région, silence que M. Henri Maspero a justement relevé.

Il paraît donc infiniment probable qu'un trait d'union politique a joint au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle les pays du Mékong à ceux du Fleuve Rouge et qu'une confédération nominale a groupé les populations de ces régions sous l'autorité d'un conquérant venu du Lan Na. Ce fait pourrait être à l'origine de l'ancienne et passagère indianisation des Taï des S. S. Cāu t'ai, influence dont l'écriture reste le seul vestige.<sup>(3)</sup> Depuis cette époque, cette population a subi l'attraction politique et cul-

(1) A cette époque, le roi de Pagan considérait celui de Ta-li comme son suzerain (*Nan tchao ya che*, I. c., p. 100; G. E. HARVEY, *op. cit.*, p. 48-9). Les dix-sept kien, satellites taï du Nan-tchao d'après G. MASPERO (*loc. cit.*, p. 92), sont une erreur de traduction de M. C. SAINSON (*op. cit.*, p. 18) et se ramènent à dix et même à six (V. P. PELLAT, *BEFEO*, IV, p. 1104).

(2) H. MASPERO, *Géographie politique de l'Annam*. [X-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle], *BEFEO*, XVI, I, p. 31, 35. M. G. MASPERO a reproduit cette information (*loc. cit.*, p. 83) d'après l'ouvrage de Tchao Jou-koua postérieur d'un siècle au *Ling wai tai fu* et, de ce fait, la tient pour médiocre.

(3) M. E. HUNER (*BEFEO*, IX, p. 586) avait supposé que cette écriture avait été apportée aux Taï par les Birmans au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais M. L. FISON (*op. laud.*, p. 16) s'est attaché à montrer que seule celle de Lai-cháu atteste une légère influence birmane et représente avec les autres écritures similaires une mallable adaptation du graphisme indien aux langues taï dès avant l'époque de Rama K'ambeng.

turelle du Tonkin annamite et aucun autre témoignage historique ne peut expliquer ces rapports.

### 3. LAN SANG.

Lan Sang (siamois *Lan c'ang* ลานช้าง) est resté le nom, ou mieux une partie du nom officiel, du royaume de Luang-Prabang. Sa traduction courante "million d'éléphants" est considérée comme douteuse et son sens exact, d'après le colonel Gerini,<sup>(1)</sup> serait "pâturage des éléphants," allusion à deux collines situées l'une à l'est, l'autre au sud de la ville et qui portent, en raison de leur forme, le nom de petit et de grand éléphant. L'espace qui les sépare aurait été appelé figurativement "pâturage des éléphants." Or, comme nous l'apprend M. Coedès,<sup>(2)</sup> cette explication a été suggérée à son auteur par le roi Chulalongkorn. C'est cette même étymologie, siamoise et non laotienne, que donne J. MacCarthy,<sup>(3)</sup> d'après un fonctionnaire du gouvernement de Bangkok. Nous retombons ici dans le cas de Lan Na,<sup>(4)</sup> où le sens de *Lan* a été trahi en transcription par la différence tonique entre le yuen et le siamois. De plus, cette lecture inexacte semble avoir été mal traduite. Sans me fier aux langues du nord, les dictionnaires siamois et laotiens n'admettent pas le sens de "pâturage" (grazing ground) pour *lan*. La valeur sémantique de ce mot est "place rase" comme une tête chauve (*hoia lán*), une cour (courtyard) (*lan*), une aire (threshing-floor) siam., *lan na* ; lao., *lan l'un*. La graphie siamoise signifie donc "cour des éléphants."

M. Coedès a apporté un appui à l'interprétation populaire en montrant que *Dasulakkakūñjaraṇayara*, nom pâli de la principauté dans la *Finakālamālinī*, chronique du début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, signifie "million d'éléphants" et que sa traduction siamoise lève l'amphibologie contenue dans *Satanāyatanahala*, autre nom du Lan Sang ayant le même sens.

Ce témoignage assez ancien et "d'une indiscutable authenticité" n'est d'ailleurs pas unique et, un siècle plus tard, le P. de Marini dans

(1) *Researches* . . , p. 147.

(2) *A propos des anciens noms* . . , BEFEO, XVIII, ix, p. 10, note 3.

(3) *Surveying and Exploring in Siam*, p. 71.

(4) V. *supra* p. 79.

(5) *A propos des anciens noms* . . , p. 10-11.



sa relation sur le Tonkin et le Laos écrit que Lan Sang veut dire "des milliers [pour "million"] d'éléphants."<sup>(1)</sup> Ainsi, à C'ieng Mai et à Wieng Čan telle était la signification de ce nom aux époques considérées et ne serait-ce que pour ces raisons, cette étymologie est à préférer à celle dont les autorités siamoises sont les seuls tenants. La relation qui existe dans l'esprit de certains laotiens entre le nom de *Lan Sang* et celui des deux *Pu Sang*, bornes orientale et méridionale de Luang-Prabang, est toute simple : Il s'agit du même mot *Sang* (éléphant). J'ajoute que cette discussion a trait uniquement à l'étymologie populaire de Lan Sang. Le problème de sa plus lointaine origine, qui passe ma compétence, conduirait à remettre en question non *lan* mais *sang* ou plutôt l'expression toute entière. On ne peut en effet se défendre d'établir un rapprochement entre Lan Sang et les noms composés avec *na*, ni de regarder du côté de la toponymie pseudo-chinoise du Yunnan, voies dans lesquelles les recherches me semblent devoir être conduites.<sup>(2)</sup>

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS. LES HIÉRARCHIES DE DIGNITAIRES

De l'étude qui précède, on conclura que ce n'est pas par simple coïncidence que les noms emphatiques des principautés tai commencent tous par un mot dont un des sens est numérique. D'ailleurs

(1) "... avvegna che l'abbondanza degli Elefanti dà il nome al Regno; che tanto vale a dire Langioni, quanto migliaia di Elefanti" (G. F. de MARINI, *Delle Missioni... nella Provincia del Giappone*, . . . V, Rome, Tinassi, 1653, p. 448) — La transcription italienne *Langioni* donnée d'après un voyageur ayant séjourné dans le pays même permet de faire une remarque importante sur la phonétique laotienne de Wieng Č'ang au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. On prononçait "Lan Č'ang" ou "Č'ah" et non "Sang", avec la sifflante, comme en shan et en laotien modernes. Les transcriptions chinoises Lan tchang 攪掌 et Nan-tchang 南掌 (celle-ci a désigné seulement Wieng Čan depuis que la capitale y fut établie en 1564 [*T'ien hi*, loc. cit., p. 156], les notations portugaise "Lanjão" et italienne "Langiona" (GERINI, *op. cit.*, p. 149) ne sont pas aussi probantes car les premières ont pu être calquées sur le *la'* ou le *yuen* et les secondes sur la prononciation siamoise.

(2) P. F. (Textes, p. 4, cité in *Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 97, n. 3) rapporte une légende relative au creusement du Mékhong (*Lan tang kiang* et *Kiou long kiang* en chinois) par le roi *nāga Satanāga* et son peuple yunnanais. Quelques lignes plus loin figure un autre roi *nāga* appelé *Nahuta* (Cf. P. F. p. 2, 5, II et *Ann. du Siam*, p. 94, 95, 98, 99, 114). Il n'est donc pas douteux qu'au moins dans l'esprit des Tai il a existé un rapport maintenant inconscient entre Lan Sang et le nom chinois du haut Mékhong.



seuls Lan et P'an ont vu leur étymologie contestée. Ce sens correspond bien dans les trois cas en litige : P'an-na, Lan Na et Lan Sang à la forme graphique de chacun de ces noms dans le dialecte de la principauté qu'il désigne. Le problème des tons perd de son importance du fait que le yuen, le laotien et le lu' ne les distinguent pas d'une façon précise dans l'écriture. Remarquons seulement que, lorsque le mot *pân* de S. S. P'an-na a été emprunté au tai noir par le laotien, il a subi la correction tonique exigée par le système des correspondances phonétiques en passant du ton descendant supérieur (H. Maspero) ou *élevé infléchi* (Dignet) au ton égal ou moyen.<sup>(1)</sup> Il est donc manifeste que l'usage des noms à éléments numériques est traditionnel chez les Tai de l'ouest pour désigner leurs principautés. La généralité de ce fait n'a cependant pas un caractère aussi systématique qu'on serait tenté de le croire. Les applications de ces nombres sont de nature bien différente et indiquent la part d'arbitraire qui entrent dans leur rapprochement abstrait.

Dans le premier groupe, celui des nombres inférieurs à cent et non multiples de dix, ils totalisent en apparence des divisions territoriales. Dans le second, constitué par *p'an* et *lan*, unités d'ordres supérieurs à la centaine, ils ont une signification complexe qu'on tentera de faire entrevoir.

Au premier groupe appartiennent les dodécarchies : Sip-sông P'an-na, les Douze P'an-na lu' ; Sip-sông êau tái, les Douze seigneuries (ou sous-préfectures montagnardes : châu (*cheou*) des Tai de la Rivière Noire ; Sip-sông êau tái, les Douze seigneuries des Tai rouges du Sông (Nâm) Mā, dont le souvenir est bien rarement évoqué.<sup>(2)</sup> Toutes les listes qui prétendent énumérer les 12 P'an-na lu' sont en désaccord. Dès qu'on veut pousser une enquête à ce sujet, on s'aperçoit vite que ce nombre est largement dépassé, car il existe de

(1) H. MASPERO, *Syst. phon. des langues thai*, p. 162-3. Le Dict. de GUIGNARD paru depuis le travail de M. M. permet d'établir la concordance du laotien (L) au tai noir (N) pour la sourde *p* :  $N = L^2$  ;  $N^2 = L_4$  ;  $N_4 = L^3$  ;  $N^3 = L$  ( $L^2$  est le ton montant du P.G.).  $Pân^3(N)$  "mille" correspond bien à *pân* (L), et *pân* (N) "partager" à *pân*<sup>2</sup> (L).

(2) Le Cap. CUPET énumère ainsi ces 12 seigneuries du sud, situées de Sóp Sim au Nâm Mā (*sic*!) et difficiles à retrouver sur les cartes : M. Sim, M. Pung, M. O'eng Kong, M. Lat, M. O'eng Nu'a, M. Li, M. Pang, M. O'eng Yën, M. Ló ke, M. Êng, M. K'eng, M. O'an Ya Tiuta (Sang Yang) (*Voyages au Laos*... [Mission PAVIE, Géogr. & voy., III], p. 45).

« petits » et de « grands » P'an-na. La limitation à douze est donc purement conventionnelle et exprime la totalité par un symbolisme de même nature cosmologique que celui des Chinois. Le *Sena*, assemblée de douze vassaux la figure le cercle zodiacal autour du Roi soleil, comme l'indiquent la position géographique de quatre d'entre eux considérés fustivement comme les plus importants, et les titres d'orientation portés par les dignitaires de la principauté soeur de Luang-Prabang.<sup>(1)</sup> En Chine, le plus frappant exemple de l'affectation d'un seigneur, d'un mandarin ou d'un officier aux divisions cosmologiques de l'empire est une stèle funéraire ancienne qui montre les animaux cycliques servant d'attributs à douze personnages chinois à costume officiel.<sup>(2)</sup>

C'est évidemment pour ces raisons, aujourd'hui méconnues, que le nombre des seigneuries dans les principautés tai du Tonkin occidental est invariablement ramené à douze, malgré l'instabilité inhérente à la condition de ces terres. L'Annam ancien a compté sous les Ngô douze seigneuries.<sup>(3)</sup> Pour l'empire chinois, M. Chavannes s'avoue embarrassé par la division en douze régions instituée par l'empereur Chouen.<sup>(4)</sup> L. de Saussure, dans un de ses célèbres mémoires sur l'astronomie chinoise, a démontré depuis lors que « la division théorique de l'empire se conformait à cette symétrie cosmologique, les mêmes séries de symboles étant appliquées indifféremment à la division du ciel et de la terre en 4, 8, 12 parties périphériques. »<sup>(5)</sup>

Au groupe des nombres inférieurs à cent appartiennent les déterminatifs formés avec 32, 57 et 84, totaux respectifs des P'an-na ou Mu'ang de C'ieug Sên, C'ieug Mâi et du « plus grand Lan Na » du

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. [Fr. GARNIER], *op. cit.*, I, p. 407; F. W. CAREY, *Two Trips in the Chinese Shan States* (China-Imp. marit. Customs-V. Off. Ser., n° 60), Shanghai, 1899, p. 7; W. C. McLAREN, *Copy of Papers*... (Blue Books. Papers relating to China, XV), p. 81; L. de REINACH, *op. cit.*, édit. posth., p. 26, 284. (Les titres de dignitaires du Lan Sang qui appartiennent à cette classe sont *P'ya sieng m'a*, le P'raja du Nord et *P'ya sieng tuo*, le P'raja du sud.) Cf. W. C. DODD, *op. cit.*, p. 185, qui donne 28 districts, et MISSIOA PAVIE, *Géogr. & Voy.*, II, p. 136.

<sup>(2)</sup> Ed. CHAVANNES, *Note additionnelle* [à «*des Cyclés der zwölf Tiere*» de B. LAUFER], *Toung pao*, 1909, p. 73-5.

<sup>(3)</sup> TRU'OS-VINH-KY, *Cours d'histoire annamite*, p. 44-5.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Les mémoires*... de Se-ma-T'ien, III, p. 384; I, p. 65.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Le cycle des douze animaux*..., J.A., 1920, p. 61-3.



XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il est très difficile de dire si ces nombres ont eu, à leur apparition, une base de réalité. Pour 57, ce caractère est probable, car ce nombre n'est pas symbolique en pays tai. Pour 32 et 84, nous avons vu ce qu'il fallait en penser.

Avec le groupe des nombres supérieurs à la centaine, nous quittons le domaine de l'histoire et de la symbolique. De même que la famille tai (*p'i n'óng*) est classée sommairement par groupes d'âge, les aînés (*p'i*) et les cadets (*n'óng*), par rapport à l'individu, la société tai est fondée sur une hiérarchie gérontocratique, celle des Anciens (*Tau k'ón*) ou notables<sup>(1)</sup> qui existe au moins chez tous les Tai de l'ouest. On prendra comme exemple d'une de ces hiérarchies celle du Laos siamois qui comporte, d'après Mgr. Cuaz,<sup>(2)</sup> six degrés énumérés dans l'ordre décroissant et dont les titres sont : 1<sup>o</sup>) P'áya ; 2<sup>o</sup>) P'á ; 3<sup>o</sup>) Luang, P'yá ; 4<sup>o</sup>) Sên K'ân ; 5<sup>o</sup>) Mu'n ; 6<sup>o</sup>) Tao. Deux degrés sont exprimés numériquement : *Sên*, 100.000 et *Mu'n*, 10.000.

Faute de données complètes et sûres, je ne prétends pas serrer ce problème, mais je pense, en l'état actuel de la documentation, que la hiérarchie propre des Tai s'exprimait en bénéfices de rizières (*na*) évalués numériquement. Plus tard, d'autres hiérarchies à numéraux sont entrées en usage sous l'influence de certains dénombrements par foyers et sous celle d'un rapport conventionnellement établi entre le produit des rizières et le nombre des foyers qui les cultivent.

Chez les Tai noirs, au sujet desquels on possède l'étude du général Digue, " le *quan tchaó* (seigneur) est le seul propriétaire foncier de tout le territoire qu'il commande," selon une des règles fondamentales du vieux droit tai puisque le domaine est la substance même du seigneur. A chaque seigneur on à chaque notable est attribué un certain nombre d'arpents ou *môn* de rizières : le *quan tchaó* en aura 5, par exemple ; le *thó-taille* 4 ; le maire 3, le *phó l'y* 2 et les notables de village un."<sup>(3)</sup> Chez les Lu', aux seigneurs et aux notables sont attribués dans les partages périodiques de rizières des parts supplé-

(1) Chez les Laotiens français (L. de BÉTHACU, *op. cit.*, édit. posth., p. 236 ; *Notice sur le Laos*... du Lt.-col. TOURSIEZ, p. 53) ; chez les Tai noirs (Cap. Digue, *Étude de la langue tay*, p. 9-10) ; chez les Tai des Huá-p'án (Cap. CUPET, *op. cit.*, p. 114) ; etc. . .

(2) *Manuel de conversation franco-laotienne*, p. 51.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 20.



mentaires proportionnées au rang de chacun.<sup>(1)</sup> Le seigneur, en décernant une dignité, accorde donc du même coup une dotation sur l'usufruit de son domaine. Les nobles qui ne sont pas investis de la puissance seigneuriale bénéficient des mêmes faveurs selon leur rang, supérieur à celui des notables. Il faut remarquer que la noblesse taï n'est pas une caste car elle reste ouverte par le bas et admet une classe de notables héréditaires qui se confond rapidement avec elle, notamment chez les Taï noirs. Seule la noblesse de sang royal est d'essence particulière. Mais la liste des titres successifs portés pendant la période historique par les souverains, en particulier ceux du Ian Sang, montre son identité avec celle des titres de notabilité actuels dans l'ordre croissant.<sup>(2)</sup> Ainsi, de nos jours, les plus anciens titres royaux *P'ô tuang*, *K'ân*, *Tao*, se trouvent être portés par les notables du rang le plus bas et parfois même de race k'a. On peut donc croire que le roi, en prenant ou en recevant un nouveau titre, conférait celui qu'il abandonnait à de hauts dignitaires du rang le plus élevé, créant ainsi un nouveau degré. Mais cette promotion entraînait d'autres dans toutes les hiérarchies et les titres qui étaient repoussés au dernier rang par suite de la limitation du nombre des degrés tombaient plus tard en désuétude ou étaient décernés à des chefs k'a à titre purement honorifique.

Dans la distribution d'usufruits faite par le seigneur taï noir, supposons qu'à la progression arithmétique de raison 1, qui semble avoir été imaginée par le général Diguët, soit substituée la progression géométrique de raison 10, *n* étant considéré comme égal à 10 *na*, dotation accordée au notable de rang le plus bas, les parts donnant leurs noms aux titres deviennent :

-Sip-na	}	Inusités.
-Hôï-na		
-P'an-na		

Ce dernier est également inusité, mais l'analogie avec *ma'n-na*, à la fois circonscription territoriale et titre de dignité, fait conjecturer son existence ancienne. Dans la hiérarchie civile siamoise, on dit *p'an*.

(1) C'était le système en usage dans le Nan-tchao (PARKER in *Gazetteer*, I, I, p. 263). On ignore si les seigneurs *ngui-lao* avaient imposé ce régime ou l'avaient trouvé en vigueur.

(2) P. LE BOULANGER, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40.

-Mu'n-na: D'après le P. Guignard,<sup>(1)</sup> titre existant au TrAn-ninh, semble-t-il, et nom de circonscription territoriale.

-Sên-na: On dit Sên.

-Lan-na

C'est le nom de la principauté de C'ieng Mái mais l'analogie avec mu'n-na et la légende qu'on lira plus loin montrent qu'il signifiait à l'origine, "bénéficiaire d'un million de *na*". Lan-na a fait certainement partie à une époque reculée de la titulature populaire des souverains yuen et a servi ensuite par extension à désigner le royaume. Le roi Ku'-na, qui régna à C'ieng Mái de 1335 à 1385, portait un nom, ou plus exactement un titre personnel, qui signifie précisément "million de *na*". Ku' ayant la même signification que *lan* a été employé pour éviter l'amphibologie entre les deux *Câu Lan-na*, l'un titre général et l'autre titre personnel. Cela est si vrai que ce prince porte dans l'inscription de Wat P'a Yu'n un titre analogue mais un peu différent: Sông sên na, c'est-à-dire "Deux cent mille *na*."<sup>(2)</sup>

Si, de nos jours, les dotations sont encore réelles en pays lu' et tai noir où elles sont faites en usufruit, elles n'ont plus au Siam qu'un caractère fictif et hiérarchique. L'origine en reste d'ailleurs très apparente puisqu'en siamois "dignité" s'exprime par un mot composé: *sâkdi-na* dans lequel *sâkdi* signifie "dignité" et *na* "rizière." Cette relation entre l'importance de la dotation et le rang du bénéficiaire a des racines si profondes dans la coutume tai que les Siamois continuent à la placer à la base de leur hiérarchie civile, alors même que rien autre ne vient rappeler dans les provinces méridionales l'existence de ce fait juridique ancien. Par régression, ils l'ont même étendue jusqu'au dernier échelon de leur société: Les esclaves, les pauvres et mendiants sont mis au rang de bénéficiaires théoriques de cinq *na*.<sup>(3)</sup>

D'après les indications des anciennes lois dans lesquelles *na* figure accompagné de *râi*, la numérale des champs, M. Lingat a glossé *na*, dont le seul sens actuel en siamois et en laotien est "rizière," par

(1) *Dict.*, h. v. La charte de Wat Kéo cite le "Câu mu'n" de M. Ke (L. FÉROT, *op. locut.*, p. 169).

(2) V. G. CARNÉ, *Doc. Laos* . . . , p. 95 et n. 1; p. 195.

(3) R. LINGAT, *L'esclavage privé dans le vieux droit siamois*, p. 160, note 2 renvoyant à l'art. 28 de la loi sur la hiérarchie civile (? 1396 A. D.).



"mesure de surface employée fictivement." Toutefois, la valeur sémantique de ce mot en yuen moderne et surtout dans l'épigraphie du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, laisserait supposer que l'acception siamoise originelle, bien avant la rédaction des lois, était probablement différente de celle que nous connaissons aujourd'hui.

L'inscription de Wát *Suvanna Ārāma* (n° V, *Mission Pavie*), datant des premières années du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, dit que le roi de C'iang Mái fit don de 100.000 rizières, *wāi na sēn nū'ng*, à ce temple.<sup>(1)</sup> Le P. Schmitt, dont je cite la traduction et que ce chiffre élevé a étonné à bon droit, estime qu'il faut attribuer le sens de "grand nombre" et ajoute que l'usage de faire des donations de rizières à un temple n'existe plus au Siam. Mais, plus loin, lisant l'inscription de Wát Lāmp'o'ng (n° VI, *Mission Pavie*) où il est dit que le roi du Lan Na fit don de "toutes les rizières royales, à savoir trois millions cinquante mille rizières,"<sup>(2)</sup> l'éditeur en présence d'un fait analogue change d'explication et ne voit plus là qu'une simple exagération. En ce cas, on ne comprend guère pourquoi 50.000 rizières auraient été ajoutées à une expression hyperbolique. En traduisant, comme l'a fait le P. Schmitt, les *na* sont indiquées par des multiples de dix mille. On conçoit sans peine que tel ne serait pas le cas s'il s'agissait du nombre de lopins contenus dans une étendue de rizières ou de la mesure de ce terrain à l'aide d'une unité de surface.<sup>(3)</sup> De nos jours, les Lu' comme les Laotiens ne mesurent pas les rizières;<sup>(4)</sup> c'est montrer clairement qu'ils attachent plus d'importance à la récolte qu'au terrain. Toutes ces difficultés seraient levées si les dotations de ces épigraphes ne furent point constituées par l'usufruit de terres déterminées mais par une rente ou un don en riz prélevé sur le revenu du domaine ou d'un district, *na* signifiant alors "rapport de rizières," "récolte," "riz" et s'exprimant en nombres, c'est-à-dire en

(1) *Mission PAVIE, Etudes diverses*, II, p. 266; 1.12, n° 1.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 283 et D°2; 1.7, v° 1.

(3) Cf. l'inscription mon de Wát Don à Lāmp'un. (G. CREDÉ, *Doc. Laos.*, p. 191).

(4) Cf. *Dict. de GUIGNARD*, p. LIII. A la vérité, on trouve dans les textes quelques exemples de rizières mesurées en brasses (*ica*), donc par leur périmètre.



poids.<sup>(1)</sup> Or, tel est bien le cas.

Reportons-nous au passage visé de l'inscription VI *Pavie* qui, soit dit en passant, contient des formes dialectales k'o'n ou lu'.<sup>(2)</sup>

V<sup>o</sup>1—(5) (Titre) pèn cà mō'n hīn jyan hmai mī

(6) rājakhēt dān hlāy an kōt hmāy vai káp ārama an nī

(7) nā sām lān hā hmū'n ban vai káp brah cētī sī tām sī

(8) sèn pēa vai káp brah cau no' vihāra hā sèn pēa vai k

V<sup>o</sup>2—(1) āp uposata sī sèn pēa vai pen cān lan lān hā sèn

(2) ha hmū'n ban pēa cāi hū' phū nāy kin sōn sèn pēa nā

(3) dān moan nī yā nai hmū'n khau sèn khau nai ban(n)ā kūht.

Ce qui veut dire : "(Titre), souverain de M. P'ing C'ieng Māi, propriétaire de tout le territoire royal, décide de prélever<sup>(3)</sup> sur (la récolte), en faveur de ce temple, trois millions cinquante (et un) mille de riz, (à savoir :)

—pour le *cetiya* carré, quatre cent mille cauris,

—pour le Bouddha du monastère, cinq cents mille cauris,

—pour l'*uposatha*, quatre cent mille cauris,

—pour la nourriture des religieux, un million cinq cent (un) mille cauris,

—comme don gracieux aux chefs, deux cent mille cauris. Tout ce

<sup>(1)</sup> Sur les amphibologies qu'entraîne l'usage des numéraux comme poids, comme valeurs et pour dénombrer les objets (monnaies, cauris, noix d'arec, etc.), voir le cas particulier exposé par M. G. CÉDÈS (*Doc. Laos* . . . p. 118, n. 2). Cette imperfection marquante de la sémantique taï oblige à s'en tenir dans les traductions à des formules littérales telles que : "dix mille d'or", "un million d'arecs". M. C. a déjà montré que l'unité de poids n'est pas le tical (V. contra = C. NORRIS, *Ann. du Siam*, 1, p. 10, n. 1). On peut ajouter à son argumentation cette preuve empruntée au haut Laos : Le *mā'n* (12 kg.) équivaut, d'après le P. GRIGNARD, *Dict.* p. LIII) au poids de 800 et non de 10.000 ticals.

<sup>(2)</sup> Notation du *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam* (I, p. 10-12) qui vaut à la fois pour les langues indiennes et pour le taï ancien, sous quelques réserves.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Wai* signifie ici "donner pour être mis en réserve" (Cp. avec le sens courant du mot) et s'oppose nettement dans ce texte à *hā'* . . . *kān* "donner pour être dépensé" (I, 2, v<sup>o</sup>2).

riz est logé dans le grenier<sup>(1)</sup> du district de Kūh.

Le P. Schmitt a sauté *ban* (p'an) et *lən* probablement parce que *nu'ng* (un) est sous-entendu après ces numéraux, licence qui n'est plus permise dans ce cas par la syntaxe moderne. Sans espérer être entièrement correcte, la présente traduction rétablit au moins les nombres dans leur intégrité. Les erreurs de l'épigraphiste sur ce point sont d'autant moins explicables que ces nombres sont susceptibles d'une vérification évidente: le total des cauris (*pəu* = *biā*) est égal au nombre qui indique le poids de *na*, remarque pleine d'intérêt pour notre recherche, car elle nous invite à faire correspondre un cauris à l'unité de poids fictive qui se dénommerait "un". Dans l'inscription de C'ieng Sên,<sup>(2)</sup> le don d'une quantité indéterminée de *na* est complété par la mention *kāp sên pəu* "avec cent mille cauris". Dans un cas analogue, il s'agit de la dotation faite par Māng Rai au bénéfice de Wāt Kan Tôm, la chronique de C'ieng Māi (traduction C. Notton)<sup>(3)</sup> dit que "chaque année, 620,000 cauris furent prélevés sur le tribut des rizières" pour la nourriture des religieux. Ce "tribut", bien entendu, était versé en riz. Les autres cauris "prélevés" sur le P'au-na C'em et C'a C'ang servirent à fournir les religieux en aliments et en arce. On voit donc que les cauris jouaient en de tels cas un rôle à la fois figuratif, distributif et mnémotechnique. On me permettra de citer une observation qui illustre d'une manière frappante la vieille coutume attestée par

(1) Le P. SCHMITT a vu un toponyme dans "hmū'n khan sên khan". Le point de vue que je soutiens ici me fait proposer d'y voir un terme figuratif pour "grenier", sens qui s'accorde toute aussi bien à la lettre du texte. D'ailleurs, voici la traduction du passage entier par le P. SCHMITT (*loc. cit.*, p. 283-4): "À ce même moment, le Somdec phum : cri . . . fit inscrire comme dotation faite à cet ārāma toutes les rizières royales, à savoir : trois millions cinquante mille rizières. Au nom des phra : cettins placés aux quatre côtés de la pagode, il fit faire quatre cent mille titres de propriété. La statue de Buddha qui se trouve placée dans le vihāra (temple) en reçut cinq cent un mille titres; l'upāsatha en reçut cent mille. Cent cinquante autres mille furent réservés pour l'entretien des bonzes. Les chefs préposés au service de la pagode reçurent de leur côté deux cent mille titres. Toutes ces rizières se trouvent situées dans l'arrondissement dit hmin khao sên khao et dans celui de Vanākue".

(2) L. FOURNEREAU, *Le Siam ancien*, I, Inscription de C'ieng Sên, 2e f., l. 5.

(3) *Ann. du Siam*, III, p. 53.



l'inscription: L'impôt dans le haut Laos français est personnel, mais, en fait, les chefs indigènes le considèrent toujours comme global par villages ou hameaux, d'autant plus qu'il y a des écarts sensibles entre le chiffre théorique et le chiffre des inscrits. Un litige s'était élevé, une année, entre l'Administration et Yang-ta, chef du groupe Mèo de Bân-no', au sujet de l'impôt payé par un hameau qui, selon l'humeur vagabonde des Mèo, avait émigré entre temps. Quelle ne fut pas ma surprise de voir Yong-ta aller chercher au fond d'une hotte et déplier des petits bouts de papier, un pour chaque hameau, contenant autant de grains de maïs que de piastres payées. C'était, à son point de vue, un argument irréfutable de sa bonne foi et une preuve de l'excellence de sa mémoire. Il est clair que si l'on se servait encore de cauris dans la région (ils sont toujours utilisés par les montagnards de la famille lo-lo comme ornements), c'est eux qui auraient servi à ces opérations.<sup>(1)</sup> Quiconque a vécu à l'intérieur du pays taï comprendra que, faites en monnaie ordinaire, les dotations royales pour la nourriture en riz des communautés religieuses auraient été illusoires, car à certaines époques, malheureusement trop fréquentes, il est impossible de se procurer du riz dans le commerce même à prix d'argent. En posant *p'ân biā* mille cauris = *p'ân* = 1 kg. 200, le don de riz fait à Wât *Suvanna Arāma* est de 120 Kg. et celui fait à Wât Lāmpōng de 3661 Kg. 200. La seule tradition yuen publiée sur l'étymologie de Lan Na tend à confirmer que *na* comporte une évaluation en poids: "Ils [les Yuen] pesèrent le lit en pierres de Chāo *Suvanna Khāmdēng* et lui trouvèrent le poids de un lan. Ils prirent l'indice (de ce poids) pour nommer la ville": Lan Na C'ieng Mai.<sup>(2)</sup> Malgré la suspicion dans laquelle on doit tenir ses pareilles, cette légende offre l'intérêt de montrer qu'à une certaine époque et

(1) Les cauris constituaient, selon toute vraisemblance, des "bons" à remettre aux préposés des greniers royaux pour percevoir ces marchandises.—

D'autre part, n'est-ce pas en Lan biā 𑜋𑜨𑜧𑜨𑜧 (million de cauris), associé dans l'esprit des Laotiens (?) au mot "grenier", qu'il faudrait corriger l'énigmatique "Lan Piyā" (million de greniers), nom sous lequel les membres de la Mission PAVIE (*Études diverses*, II, p. 1, n. 1 et passim) désignent le Siam et qu'ils n'ont certainement pas inventé, pas plus que sa traduction? C'est intentionnellement qu'il n'est pas étudié ici à côté des autres noms de principautés à éléments numériques, car aucun dictionnaire et aucune autre source, à ma connaissance, ne mentionnent ce nom ou son composant "Piyā."

(2) *Ann. du Siam*, I. p. 10.



dans le pays même, telle était l'interprétation populaire de l'expression en cause. Au reste, la métonymie étant le mode favori de dérivation des mots *taï*, *na* a encore actuellement en *yuen* le sens de "récolte de riz,"<sup>(1)</sup> alors qu'en *lu'* et en *laotien* c'est *K'au* (riz) qui sert à exprimer cette idée.

Peut-on conclure de cet exposé que *P'an-na* et *Lan-na* étaient des titres de dignité comportant une rente en riz de 1 Kg 200 et 1.200 Kg respectivement? Certainement non et on peut s'en persuader en reprenant le terme *P'an-na* dont on a vu plus haut le sens territorial et la valeur pratique. Cette expression n'est pas figurative, comme je l'ai cru longtemps. On concevrait fort bien que l'on pût désigner un "casier" par le symbole "mille carrés," mais cette explication soulève deux difficultés. La première est que, parmi ses acceptions, *p'an* a celle de "lopin de terres labourables," c'est-à-dire une étendue non divisée.<sup>(2)</sup> La seconde est que l'on ne connaît ni *sip-na*, ni *hoi-na* et qu'ainsi *p'an-na* a toutes les chances d'être le nom de base. Ceci nous conduit à sonder l'étymologie de *p'an*. Celle de *hoi*, qui avait paru évidente à un remarquable connaisseur comme le P. Guignard, a fait l'objet d'une rigoureuse démonstration philologique de la part de M. M. G. Cordès et J. Burnay.<sup>(3)</sup> Alors que les autres *Tai* (Shans compris) se servent pour désigner le nombre "cent" du numéral chinois *pak* (forme cantonnaise de *poi*), les Siamois, les Laotiens, les *Lu'* et les *Tai* de la Rivière Noire utilisent le mot *taï hoi*, *roi*, signifiant "enfiler." Un *hoi* était donc primitivement une ligature de monnaies enfilées (coquillages, puis métal). C'est également à cet usage que semble dû l'emploi du mot *taï p'an*, *pān*, signifiant "enrouler" "bobiner," pour le nombre "mille" dans les groupes où *hoi* sert à dire "cent."<sup>(4)</sup> On peut donc croire que jadis dix ligatures étaient normalement enroulées sur elles-mêmes pour leur transport. Le tableau ci-dessous fait constater l'identité des deux mots dans trois sur quatre des langues *taï* en question, la con-

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 9, note 3.

(2) *Dict.* de GUIGNARD, p. LIII. Ce sens ne figure pas s.v. *P'an*.

(3) *J.S.S.*, XX, 1 (1926), p. 49-52.

(4) Sauf chez les *Tai* du Tonkin septentrional qui emploient *Syien* (du chinois: Ts'ien) F. M. SAVINA, *Dict. tay-annamite français*, Hanoi, 1910, p. 415. A signaler la persistance fort intéressante de la nomenclature de l'ouest chez les *Tai* du Kouang-si (Cf. W. C. DODD, *op. cit.*, p. xxi).

cordance tonique entre le laotien et le taï noir ayant été démontrée précédemment.<sup>(1)</sup>

Langue	Enrouler	Mille	Observations
Siamois.	p'ân <sup>2*</sup> t̃u	p'ân ñu	*Exactement "tourner." Il ne s'agit peut-être pas du même mot commun. Cf. lao. : p'an <sup>2</sup> ayant le même sens et dont le ton correspond à p'an <sup>2</sup>
Laotien	p'ân	p'ân	
Puôn	pân	pân	
Taï noir	pân <sup>3**</sup>	pân <sup>3</sup>	
			**E. DIGUET, Etude. . . . , s. v. Guêtres.

*P'ân* a donc eu très vraisemblablement comme sens ancien voisin de "enrouler" celui de "clôture" ou, si l'on veut, de "périmètre," puis, par métonymie, d' "enclos" ou de "surface," ce qui explique l'acception "lopin de terres labourables." *P'ân-na* ne signifierait pas autre chose que "enclos, casier de rizières." Et telle est en effet la signification qu'il possède dans la chronique de C'iang Mái, comme on l'a vu plus haut. Lorsque *p'ân* a acquis un sens abstrait numérique, *p'ân-na* dans l'acception de "revenu d'un casier" s'est trouvé être figuré par "un mille (poids) de riz." Cette façon de conduire le raisonnement peut paraître spécieuse, mais elle est celle de l'esprit taï, car il existe des témoignages formels de ces équivalences et extrapolations apparemment déconcertantes:<sup>(2)</sup> On verra plus loin comment "chef de dix" signifie au Tràn-ninh une parcelle de rizières. Lorsque la chronique de C'iang Mái énumère les *P'ân-na* ou districts de C'iang Sen, elle précise qu'il y en avait sept ici, neuf là et qu'à P'á-le, il y avait "500 *Na*," autrement dit un demi-district.<sup>(3)</sup> On surprend donc *P'ân-na*,

(1) P. 105, note 1. La notation des tons est celle de M. Henri MASPERO (V. *ibid.*).

(2) En voici un exemple: Au Tràn-ninh, un *pân* (mille) (de riz) vaut 35 *mu'n* (en taï, "trois cent cinquante mille"), soit 420 ou 525 kg de riz en épi (Dict. de GUIXARD, s.v. *Pan*).

(3) *Ann. du Siam*, III, p. 79.



venant de quitter sa valeur unitaire étymologique, à son premier degré de désintégration, alors que le nombre 500 n'a aucune signification réelle. Ainsi s'explique philologiquement la récurrence régressive des Siamois qui sont descendus jusqu'aux nombres les plus bas et celle progressive des autres Taï qui ont atteint le million, afin d'exprimer par des évaluations en dotations de riz les hiérarchies de leurs sociétés. Cet exposé, fait par retouches successives pour tenter de dissocier les différents plans de la pensée taï passablement confuse, permet de croire que, dans les temps lointains, le P'an-na était le dernier notable de Muang, celui qui avait la charge d'un casier de rizières et qui recevait sa dotation sur la récolte de ce casier, les degrés supérieurs ne comportant pas nécessairement des dotations de dix en dix fois supérieures.

Pour en venir aux classes de dignitaires, distinctes de celles titrées, les lois siamoises nous font connaître une hiérarchie qui s'exprime au moyen de termes comprenant des nombres croissant de 10 en 10 après *huà pak* auquel l'étymologie semble attribuer le sens de "chef de foyer." Ce sont *huà pak*, *naï sîp*, *naï roi*, *p'ân*, *k'ân*, *mu'n*, etc.<sup>(1)</sup> Les Taï de la Chaîne ammitique ont un système analogue de dignités dont les titres sont : *huà hoï*, *huà p'ân*, *huà mu'n*. On pourrait donc croire que nous nous trouvons dans les deux cas en présence de hiérarchies de chefs (*naï*, *huà*) désignées par le nombre de foyers auxquels chaque degré donne le droit de commander ou qui est attribué en fait à chacun comme commandement. Mais la réalité est moins simple. Le Dr. Lefèvre de la mission Pavie,<sup>(2)</sup> qui fut seulement un voyageur en pays taï mais dont les observations sont justes, rapporte que dans les Hua-p'ân "[les] rizières sont divisées en plusieurs parcelles qu'on appelle hua-sîbs [huà-sîp]. Chaque hua-sîb représente la surface cultivée par les habitants de dix maisons, et donne comme rapport annuel dix kaubats [k'au bat] c'est-à-dire quatre-vingts piculs." Le terme *huà-sîp* indique donc un rapport entre un foyer et la parcelle de rizières d'où celui-ci tire sa subsistance. De plus, l'unité fondamentale de surface qui est inexprimée est elle-même en rapport avec l'unité de mesure de grains puisqu'elle donne théoriquement comme récolte un *k'au bat* de riz. Une aide inattendue en faveur de la justesse de la remarque faite par

(1) Je suis redevable de ces renseignements à l'obligeance de M. R. LISOAT.

(2) *Un voyage au Laos*, p. 200.



le Dr. Lefèvre est apportée par un des noms emphatiques de la province de Sam nu'a : *Huā p'ān ha t'āng hōk*<sup>(1)</sup> qui est traduit traditionnellement "Huā p'ān cinq plus un sixième" (*sic* !) par un singulier mépris de la syntaxe tai. Quoi qu'il en soit de *t'āng hōk*, exemple à peu près unique d'une construction sur le modèle de *t'āng lay* "tous," *ha* est fautif de toute manière. Il faut corriger ce nom en *Huā p'ān-na*... comme le démontre la répétition de ce terme dans *Huā p'ān ha t'āng ha* confédération lui autour des M. U., au dire de M. Pavie, nom qui s'interprète par "cinq cantons."<sup>(2)</sup> *Huā p'ān-na*, que je traduis "chefferie," révèle donc une forme hybride de *huā p'ān* et de *p'ān-na* prouvant l'existence du passage des hiérarchies par *na* à celles par foyers.

Les premières sont vraisemblablement antérieures aux secondes et je risquerai quelques hypothèses sur les causes probables de l'adoption de ces dernières.

Dans les sociétés chinoise et sino-annamite modernes, il existe des clans familiaux (*sing, tiah*), alors que chez les Tai le *clan* est resté territorial ou mieux communal. C'est le *Mu'ang* (*Mō'ng, Mông*) dont tous les membres portent en effet le même nom générique. Pour prendre un exemple dans la circonscription que j'ai administrée, une personne originaire de M. Yō reste un Tai Yō où qu'elle aille. Lorsqu'un groupe d'habitants quitta définitivement ce Muang pour s'installer dans un autre d'une autre province (à M. Bēng, sur le Nām Bēng), le nouveau quartier qu'ils fondèrent fut appelé *Ban Yō*.<sup>(3)</sup> D'autre part, la notion de groupe familial est loin d'avoir chez les Tai la précision qu'elle a chez les Chinois et les Annamites qui pratiquent un système strict de filiation agnatique et un culte des

(1) P'ya Prācakit (*Ann. du Siam*, I, p. 94, n. 4) et de nombreux auteurs l'écrivent *Huā p'ān t'āng hōk*, ce qui montre bien que *ha* ne signifie pas "cinq" et qu'il est superflétatoire.

(2) *Exposé des travaux* (Mission PAVIE—Géogr. & Voy., II), p. 5.—De même l'extravagante traduction de *Huā p'ān* par "mille sources" ou "mille têtes" a acquis force de loi. On la trouve sous la plume de M. LAGRÈZE (U. MALPUÉCH, *Le Laos touristique*, p. 255). Pour qu'elle fût possible, il faudrait, d'après la syntaxe laotienne, que le numéral précédât le nom. Comme on l'a vu, le sens littéral de cette expression est "chef de mille" (rizières ou foyers).

(3) La traduction habituelle et commode de *Ban* (*shan, Man, Wan*) par "village" n'est pas à recommander, au moins dans une étude sociologique. Le *Muang* étant l'unité sociale, *Ban* désigne aussi bien un quartier du chef-lieu qu'une section éloignée, c'est-à-dire un village.

ancêtres entraînant la tenue d'un véritable état-civil figuratif. L'organisation utérine ancienne de la société tai est encore très visible à la pratique générale des maris-gendres et à celle qui consiste à appeler un homme du nom d'un de ses enfants précédé de l'indication *P'ô* (Père de...). Le culte des ancêtres (*p'i hu'en, p'i p'ô p'i mé*) pourtant très pratiqué par les Tai non bouddhistes n'accorde aux parents-morts qu'une âme collective. La famille, concept vague pour les Tai, n'a donc pas chez eux de réalité juridique.

Pour que le foyer ou famille du type territorial en vint à être admis comme unité de dénombrement, il a fallu plusieurs causes :

1°) l'écroutement des cadres féodaux, sensible au Siam et, à un degré moindre, au Laos par la constitution d'une classe de fonctionnaires (mandarins) dégagée des domaines et des clans;

2°) les titres chinois et sino-annamites de centenier (*pai hou* 百戶), chef de mille familles (*ts'ien hou* 千戶) et de dix mille familles (*wan hou* 萬戶). Ils étaient connus des Tai et je citerai à l'appui ce curieux passage de la Chronique de C'heng M'ai : <sup>(1)</sup> (L'empereur de Chine) donna l'ordre suivant : " Désormais, ne faites pas asseoir les envoyés du souverain du Lan-na au même rang que le *Chão p'ôn sên* (prince commandant cent mille hommes) mais que ce soit au rang de *Chão p'ôn lan* (prince commandant un million d'hommes). Ces nombres sont des unités du 6<sup>e</sup> et du 7<sup>e</sup> ordre, alors que les Chinois n'ont pas dépassé le sixième, le titre de "chef de cent mille familles" étant porté par le général en chef des troupes mongoles.<sup>(2)</sup> Les chroniqueurs tai ont donc remanié le système chinois pour qu'il soit en harmonie avec l'ordre de grandeur des nombres utilisés dans leur pays;<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) *Ann. du Siam*, III, p. 139.

(2) Sur cette question, v. *Marco Polo*, édit. YULE-CORDIER, I, p. 350, 351, n. 2 (Texte : *Il Milione*, édit. BENEDETTO, p. 71), H. CORDIER, *Hist. gén. de la Chine*, II, p. 329-330.

(3) De leur côté, les Chinois ont commis des erreurs d'un autre genre à propos des dignitaires tai. Pour eux (*T'ien hi*, *loc. cit.* p. 345-346), le *Tchao mang* [C'au môm chez les Lu' et les K'o'n, et non C'au Muang, comme on l'écrit ordinairement par erreur], ou prince régent, commande à quelques dizaines de milliers d'hommes, le *tchao lou* [C'au luk = rājaputra lātālāt] à plus de 100.000 hommes, le *tchao kang* [C'au k'ang, prince "du milieu", titre existant de nos jours chez les Lu' des S. S. P'an-na] à 1.000 hommes et quelquefois ce chiffre descend jusqu'à 10 hommes. On voit que les Chinois ont donné aux titres princiers lu' et k'o'n les significations approximatives des titres de dignitaires siamois.



3°) l'usage de compter par foyers la dotation faite à un enfant princier lors de son mariage, le personnel affecté au service d'une fondation pieuse et les apanages de clientèle (*lam*). Ces derniers existent encore d'une façon plus ou moins visible en pays shan, chez les Taï noirs, chez les Laotiens et surtout chez les Lu'.<sup>(1)</sup> Le *Pô lam*, père de *lam* ou patron au sens du Bas-Empire romain, est un prince, une princesse, un haut dignitaire ou un simple notable qui reçoit en apanage la clientèle d'un certain nombre de foyers k'a et même taï. Il sert d'intermédiaire (c'est le sens de *lam* qui ne signifie plus dans le sud qu'interprète ou introducteur) entre ses enfants de *lam* (*luk lam*) et l'autorité. Il centralise les impôts de ses clients et leur transmet la correspondance et les ordres officiels. Il se charge de les représenter en justice, de remettre leurs requêtes et de défendre leurs intérêts. En échange, il bénéficie de certaines redevances en argent et en nature.

Il n'est pas encore possible de situer exactement cette institution dans l'évolution des sociétés taï. Actuellement, chez les Lu', elle est à la base de l'administration des tribus montagnardes qui, semi-nomades par suite de la pratique du *rai* ne pourraient pas sans difficultés être rattachées à des divisions territoriales. C'est également chez le *Pô lam* qu'ont lieu les échanges économiques entre montagnards et riverains dans les Mo'n où il n'existe pas de marché, c'est-à-dire à peu près partout.

De ces glanes et malgré la nature du mandarinat siamois (exception faite du *mân nai*), on voit se dégager cependant avec netteté un usage ancien propre aux Taï de l'ouest, celui des dotations accordées par les seigneurs. Ce fait juridique s'explique par le régime de la propriété en pays taï où tout appartient à ces derniers : terre et eau, choses et créatures, sauf les animaux sauvages vivants.

#### ERRATA ET ADDENDA.

Diverses circonstances et mon éloignement de Bangkok m'ont empêché de faire imprimer ce travail dans sa forme définitive. Comme

(1) Cf. *Gazetteer* . . . I, ii, p. 431 (C'est le seul ouvrage qui ait donné anciennement une description exacte); E. DICUET, *op. cit.*, p. 20; P. LE BOULANGER, *op. cit.*, p. 55; CUPET, *op. cit.*, p. 239 (le *pô lam* y est appelé *potirat* ou interprète); G. AYMÉ, *Monographie du Ye Terr. milit.*, p. 72-3, d'après une mise au point de ma *Monographie de la zone de Bân-nô* inédite. Cette institution est d'ailleurs commune à d'autres sociétés (Cambodgiens, Mu'ong, etc. ).



j'en porte seul la responsabilité, je prie les lecteurs de bien vouloir m'en excuser et de me faire bénéficier de leur indulgence pour les défauts qu'ils ont rencontrés et dont je me rends parfaitement compte. Ces rectifications et additions s'attachent uniquement à ce qui peut être aisément réparé de cette manière.

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P. 79, n. 7. *Ajouter* : Dans le vocabulaire sino-yuen de la Bibl. Nat., "byan" (f°62<sup>a</sup>) traduit en effet 平 *p'ing* "égal, plat." Il existe peut-être une autre explication du nom de Mo'an byan jyan hmai : L'inscription PAVIE n° XXX (11. 4-5) mentionne une montagne appelée : Bū byan, qui paraît être celle, située à quelques lieues de Cieng Mái, sur laquelle a été découvert cet épigraphe. Son nom n'aurait-il pas été associé à celui de la ville, pour des raisons religieuses, par exemple ? Notons encore que le MS. de la Chronique de *Suvanna K'āmlēng* (*Ann. du Siam*, I. p. 1) porte l'orthographe "p'ing," nom que les Yuen glossent par "pilotis."

P. 80, n. 1. *Ajouter* : D'après G. DEVÉRIA (*Hist. du Collège des Interprètes*... [pratiquement inédit; un vol. et un jeu d'épreuves corrigées à la Soc. Asiat. de Paris] p. 53), la section *Pa pai* (la 9<sup>e</sup>) du Bureau des Traducteurs fut ouverte en 1512 à l'occasion de l'arrivée de "Lan-tcho-K'e," un Yuen qui venait apporter le tribut du Lan Na à la Cour de Chine. C'est donc évidemment à cette date et en cette circonstance que fut confectionné le premier vocabulaire sino-yuen.

P. 80, n. 3. Il s'agit de la Morrison Library à Tōkyō, actuellement dénommée "Tōyō Bunko."

P. 80, n. 4. *Ajouter* : Si les vocabulaires révisés n'existent qu'en copies manuscrites dont on trouve d'assez nombreux exemplaires en Chine et en Europe, leur texte primitif datant des Ming a été imprimé. Je n'ai pas encore découvert dans les différentes collections de Paris le vocabulaire yuen édité. Sa comparaison avec les copies corrigées datant des Ts'ing suffira à établir si "byan" est fautif ou non.

P. 81, n. 1, l. 1. C'est seulement une partie du livre VI du *Cheng wou Ki* (Histoire des guerres impériales) qu'a traduit M. IMBAULT-HUART dans l'article cité.

P. 83, l. 7. Cette identification remonte au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. En 1608, le P. Pierre DU JARRIC, S. J. (*Histoire des choses plus memorables... et Indes orientales*..., Bourdeaux, S. Millanges, I, p. 500-1) écrit en parlant des "geos" (les Lāwa, d'après M. W. A. R. WOOD, *Hist. of*

*Siam* . . , 2<sup>e</sup> éd., p. 41. MENDEZ PINTO, dans l'édit. franç. de 1628, p. 837, cite les "*Ginauphogaos* . . par dedans les montagnes de Lauhor") : "ils se marquent tout le corps avec des fers chauds afin de paroître plus beaux et plus gentils, faisant tout plein de figures d'oyseaux, & autres animaux sur leur chair; d'où il semble à quelques vus que ce sont les peuples, que Marc Paul Venitien dict habiter en la Prouinee du Cangigu: parce qu'ils ont les mesmes coustumes." Les Annamites ont été tatoués jusqu'à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (H. MASPERO, *BEFEO*, XVIII, 3, p. 10), mais les Chinois nous apprennent que les Yuen et les Lu' se tatouaient des insignes, probablement tribaux, sur le visage, particularité que note MARCO POLO à propos des habitants du Caugigu (V. *Tien hi, l.c.*, p. 152, 155; *Nan tchao ye che*, trad. SAINSON, p. 174; Itang HSU, *Les Trois grandes Races de la Province du Yunnan* [Thèse], Paris, Rodstein, 1932, p. 138-139).

P. 84, n. 4. *Ajouter*: Sir G. SCOTT et ses informateurs n'étaient pas parvenus à identifier le Mo'ng K'ông qui est la patrie des premiers habitants taï de C'ieng Tâng, d'après les traditions du lieu. Il s'agit de Mogaung, en shan Mo'ng Kông, et ceci est confirmé par les chroniques des États shans qui relatent la conquête de C'ieng Tâng par les fameux frères So' K'an p'a, roi de M. Mân, et K'un Sam lông, roi de Mogaung. Leurs hauts faits sont moins légendaires que l'on croit généralement puisque c'est l'un de ces princes qui s'empara de l'Assam en 1228 ou 9, fait incontestablement acquis. C'est à Mâng Raï que les Annales de C'ieng Tâng attribuent la conquête de cette principauté, mais la date de 1230-1243 qu'elles donnent ne cadre pas avec la chronologie de ce roi alors qu'elle concorde parfaitement avec l'époque où les deux souverains shans accomplirent leurs exploits.

P. 85, n. 1. Le P. G. F. DE MARINI: (*Delle Missioni . . . nella Prouincia del Giappone* . . , éd. de Rome, 1663, in-4°, p. 454) dit aussi que le roi du Laos (Vieng C'an) a plus de cent femmes.

P. 85, n. 2. *Ajouter*: La plus ancienne explication de ce nom semble être celle du P. GAUBIL, S. J., dans son *Mémoire historique sur le Tong-King* (in DE MOYRIAC DE MAILLA, *Hist. génér. de la Chine*, réimprimé dans *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, éd. du Panthéon littéraire, IV, p. 602, et *Rev. Indo-Chin.*, juil. 1911, p. 41). Cet auteur, tirant argument de ce que le premier lieu où se tint la Cour du Siam "s'appelait Tchâï pappe Mahanaedn" (LA LOUBÈRE, *Du Royaume de Siam*, I, p. 25), écrit que les rois du Siam étaient origi-



naires du *Pa pai*. Je ne vois pas à quel nom de Sukhot'ai ou de Sate'analai répond ce "Tehái pappe."

P. 89, l. 2. *Après Annam, ajouter*: "où ils restèrent plusieurs années. Puis...". *Supprimer*: d'où.

P. 90, n. 3, l. 8. *Jirā* est la capitale de *Jayanagara*, d'après V.

P. 92, l. 16. L'hypothèse selon laquelle M. C'è aurait été la capitale du Tch'e-li ou S. S. P'an-na repose sur le fait acquis que "C'è" est un mot nan-tehao signifiant "capitale". Mu'ang C'è était le nom tai du Nan-tehao et est resté celui du Yunnan. Bien plus, les récits semi-légendaires de la fondation de C'eng Tūng et de C'eng Rāng (*Gazetteer* . . . I, ii, s.v. Kāng Tūng) disent que ce sont des "Hô" et non des Tai qui furent des premiers colons de cette contrée peuplée de sauvages. Il faut souligner que "Hô" ne signifie "chinois" que par une extension de sens assez récente. Les Tai du Yunnan l'emploient pour plusieurs groupes ethniques qu'ils distinguent parfaitement des Chinois. Mgr. PALLEGRIX (*Dict., loc.*) le traduit par "Chinois Lolos", ce qui est plus exact que l'interprétation habituelle.



## THE STATEMENT OF KHUN LUANG HA WAT

Translated by

H. S. H. PRINCE VIVADHANAJAYA

(continued).<sup>(1)</sup>

BEGIN OF KING NĀRĀYAṆA

(continued).

And some time thereafter it came into the mind of King *Nārāyaṇa* that never had he shown his prowess and might in noble war, notwithstanding the years that he had been upon the throne. Long had he known that the great and valiant Prince who ruled in the city of *Chiengmai* was possessed of a marvellous Image of the Lord *Buddha*. It was said that when the Lord had entered *Nirvāṇa*, the great *Nāga* wrought a miracle before the disciple *Upaguta* and cast His Image in a new alloy of copper and gold. This Image is excelled by none in all *Jambūdvīpa*. And there existed also in *Chiengmai* the Image of the Lord which King *Vajra* had caused to be carved from the sandal-wood that formed a pillar of His pyre. The former Image is that of the Lord sitting in meditation with legs bent crossways; and the latter, which is made of sandal-wood, is that of Him seated in a shade formed by two *Nāgas*. And in *Chiengmai* were both these Images. Being minded to test his own prowess in single combat on the back of an elephant, King *Nārāyaṇa* commanded that a host of men and warriors be levied and that elephants, horses, chariots, boats and barges be made ready for war. The royal command was received by a noble, whose title was *Chao Phya Cakrī*; and by him were all the leaders assembled and ordered to raise an army and fleet, which were to be placed in marching array. The command of the van was given to *Chao Phya Koshādhīpati*, and that of the rear to *Chao Phya Rājavanṣarga*. The left wing was

<sup>(1)</sup> See JSS, XXVIII (1935), p. 143 sqq.

confided to *Phya Siharāj Tejo*, and the right to *Phya Hussein Khan*. *Chao Phya Koshādhīpati*, who was the chief in command, was a right worthy man, well versed in all military affairs; and familiar too was he with the *Treatise of the Art of War*. When robed and seated on horse-back, he inspired such awe that enemies were wont to flee, greatly afear'd at the mere sound of his name. And a skilful swordsman was *Chao Phya Rājavanṣarya*, who could foretell the day that would bring forth victory to any of his men. *Phya Siharāj Tejo* knew how to become invisible, and invulnerable too was he. These three men it was, who were the greatest soldiers in the field in the reign of King *Nārāyaṇa*; and all cities and lands, extolled their name. The King's four ministers marshalled their host in accordance with the *Treatise of the Art of War*; and the governors of all the provinces hastened to levy their men and to send them to join the army and the fleet that formed the grand expedition. The roll showed that they numbered full two hundred and sixty thousand men. *Chao Phya Surasīha* was left to guard over the city. The fleet comprised the barge *Garuḍa Vāha*, which was kept for the King; two barges were to the fore thereof, namely, the *Krūi Keo Cakra Ratna* and the *Nāvā Āri Vimāna Jaya*, the former to the left and the latter to the right. Two more barges were by the side of that of the King, the *Āri Samatula Vijaya* on the left and the *Kesarin Pavara Riddhi* on the right. Thence followed the King's second barge, the *Ratna Paryāṅka*; and six others, namely, *Deva Yātrā* to the right and *Riddhi Nāva* to the left; *Vimāna Jaya Ratnāṇana* to the right and *Vimāna Jaya Rājavarātra* to the left; *Sura Siha Vimāna* to the right and *Sura Kañcana Vimāla* to the left. Thence followed the barge *Paryāṅka Ratna* to the right and *Rāja Deva Āṇana* to the left. Again came other barges also in two files, *Āri Jaya Svasti* to the right and *Jaya Ratna Vimāna* to the left; *Jaya Hōn Hāo* and *Jaya Luo Tong*, the one to the left and the other to the right. Thence followed other barges, their prows carved in the form of animals; and these too were placed in two files, *Nāga Hera* and *Nāga Vāsuki*, the one to the left and the other to the right; *Sīha Nāla* and *Sīha Nāva*, the one to the left and the other to the right; *Mangkon Mahārṇava* and *Mangkon Bhava Trai*, the one to the left and the other to the right; *Nara Siha Visuddhi Sindhu* and *Nara Siha Ākāṇa*, the one to the left and the other to the right. Thence followed the barges *To Mahārṇava* and *To Sai*



*Sindhu*, the one to the left and the other to the right. Thence came the *Suvarṇa Haṇṣa* on the right and the *Kāñcana Ratna* on the left. Thence followed four others also in pairs, the *Nāvā Srek* and *Lanka*, the one to the left and the other to the right; and the *Suvarṇa* and *Sūra Vimāna*, the one to the left and the other to the right. Thence followed four others all manned by the King's mercenaries. The barge that was for the King was the *Garuḍa Vāha* and in front thereof were four other barges. Another bore an image of the Lord; and another, wherein was a four-cornered dais with steps for mounting thereon, was kept for the royal heir. And two more there were, each with two canopies, designed for the sons of the King; the one was to the left and the other to the right, in their due and proper place. In other barges besides these the aforementioned, no leaders of the host were seated; for in them were placed guns that were manned by pairs of cannoneers. Their titles were *Prah Muang Lu* and *Pru Pātōla*; *Trakong Muang Māra* and *Trakāra Āsā*; *Yod Mu Fai* and *Krai Mu Bejr*; *Teja Naranya* and *Song Teja Riddhi*; *Siddhi Yodhā Raksha* and *Çakti Yodhā Han*; *Yodhā Sura Çakti* and *Yodhā Sura Siha*; *Yodhā Ranarudh* and *Yodhā Ranaranga*. These brave warriors one and all carried a golden sword of King *Nārāyaṇa*. And another group of warriors there were, who were styled *Yodhā Han*, worthy men who ever surrounded the King. And again followed other barges each with prows carved in the form of animals; and in the bow of each was seated a brave warrior with a sword upon his back. The titles of these worthy leaders of men were *Trai Sara Siha*, *Krūdā Yudh*, *Suddhi Teja*, *Sādhikāra Jaya*, *Kamcāi Sara Siha*, *Agnī Çara*, *Annaj Chamrcern*, *Chavrcern Svasti*, *Sakti Riddhi*, *Siddhi Teja*, *Çāstrā Plang* and *Sany Agni*. These carried a sword on their back and a bow in their hands and were named the *Royal Body-guards* and the *King's Men-at-Arms*. Each of the leaders was given a sword of King *Nārāyaṇa*. The great *Banners of Victory*, bearing the emblem of the *Kapī* and the *Garuḍa*, were borne by the two warriors whose titles were *Viçesh Āvudh* and *Visuddhi Yodhā*; and seated they were in the *Suvarṇa Haṇṣa*. And another whose title was *Viçesh Yodhā* carried the great *Gong of Victory*, wherewith signals were to be given to the host. Two leaders were seated in the barge *Sila Vimāna Jaya* and their titles were *Bala Raṅga* and *Bala Rud*. In two other barges were the royal cannons, *Mahā Riksha* and *Mahā*



*Jaya*, the one manned by *Abhaya Çara Plerug* and the other by *Damkerng Ranabhava*, and worthy soldiers they were. To the front and rear of all these barges were many others, and each was confided to warriors of divers ranks, each placed according to the precedence that was his due. The *Great Rājasīha* was the barge of *Chao Phya Cakrī* and the *Great Gajasiha* bore *Phya Kalahome*. The four ministers each rode on a barge fitted with a canopy that was decorated with design, and other warriors and councillors rode in barges that were placed in pairs, some with a decorated canopy and others with only a roof, all in accordance with their precedence and rank. Thence followed other groups of councillors and officers, the *Rājamantri* and the *Qreshli*, seated in barges that were placed in pairs. Then came the judges in pairs of barges placed in accordance with their rank. *Pra Mahā Amātya* rode on the *Little Rājasīha*, and *Pra Sura Sena* on the *Little Gajasiha*; and upon these two barges fell the duty of inspection and arrangement of the procession. And four relatives of the Queen, who were styled *Sīha Deva*, *Varajuna*, *Deva Narindra* and *Indra Abhaya*, each armed with a bow, rode on two barges, the prow of the one carved in the form of a horse and the other a deer; their duty it was to oversee and direct the other barges that formed the expedition. And behind them was the barge of the two officers who were charged with duties pertaining to the discipline of the force. In their possession were divers instruments for incarceration and infliction of the penalty of death, empowered as they were to execute those who committed the offence of passing close in front of the King. And after them came two barges belonging to the men of the royal household, the one to the left and the other to the right; the two chiefs held a banner and the others carried a spear. The barge to the right was named *Bhūpendra Sīha Nāda* and the one to the left *Arendra Jāti Samhāra*; and in the centre of each was a jar of the liquors of victory. And next to these came four barges manned by the four valiant soldiers who were *Cham* mercenaries, and their titles were *Sura Senī*, *Sīha Rājā*, *Lakshna Mūnā* and *Deva Çara Trai*. After them came the two executioners who were styled *Dhama Raṅga* and *Dhama Riddhi*, and coffins were kept in the bottom of their barge. At the bow stood the two men with red painted swords in their hands, and in the middle there floated a banner that bore the emblem of *Hanuman* displaying his might. And boats belonging to other warriors there were, numbering over eight hundred in all. Forty-

eight thousand was the total number of men that appeared upon the roll of this force.

I shall now tell of the royal barge *Garuda Vaha*. In the midst thereof was the royal canopy; three umbrellas of state were placed towards the bow and two more towards the stern, all the five placed in a single row. Next to the third umbrella was the royal spear and then two pairs of shades that gave protection from the sun. Thereafter came two pairs of nine-tiered umbrellas of state and two pairs of long-handled fans. At the two sides of the canopy were again umbrellas of state. Close to the royal seat were placed the King's weapons, namely, a javelin and a bow, one on either side of him. In front of the seat were two parasols that were emblems of royalty, the one to the left and the other to the right; and next thereto were pairs of umbrellas, fans and shades. And two pages of honour were seated close by, the one holding the King's long-handled sword and the other his short-handled sword. On a bench next to them and facing the King, a scion of the royal stock sat on his knees and feet, his hands held together palms inwards and lifted up to the chest. At each foot of the bench sat the four principal pages of honour, and these were styled *Çakti*, *Siddhi*, *Riddhi* and *Trja*. And seated below them were their lieutenants, *Cha Res*, *Cha Rong*, *Cha Yong* and *Cha Yuad*, each with a sword on his back and his hands held together with palms inwards and lifted up to the chest. The pages next below them in rank each carried a sword and sat in two rows, the one to the left and the other to the right, between those who paddled the barge. I shall mention their titles, namely, *Jaya Khadga*, *Laha Ayudha*, *Bala Bal* and *Bala Bai*. And four more pages there were, two in the bow and two at the stern, and each held an instrument wherewith signals were given to those who paddled. Cheers were given, songs sung, paddles dipped in water and paddles raised in air, all these at the sound given by them. When the auspicious moment came to start the barge, then would these men make a movement with their body and give forth a song. The titles of the two who were seated at the stern were *Vidhi Nāves* and *Viçesha Nāva*; and each of them had a lieutenant seated in the bow, *Cha Non Netra* and *Cha Cetnāva*, whose duty it was to give the signal for raising a cheer. And there were two principal gentlemen-at-arms, *Rājasanīdha* and *Rāja-meha*, who sat by turns on a dais facing the stern and held a banner, which was waved towards the left or the right as a signal by which the barge was to be steered. Wholly gilded were the royal



barges and gilded were the paddles that were used thereon. The paddles of the other barges in the procession were painted red. All the councillors and officers wore breeches covered with embroidered cloth, gowns ornamented by embroidery and pink conical hats decorated with divers designs, in accordance with the rank that they held. Of the other men-at-arms, the leaders wore a hat and armour and the men a red hat and coat. And all those of the van-guard, the rear-guard, the reserves, the left wing, the right wing, the scouts and others, each and all carried a sword. Numerous were the barges and inspiring was the sight thereof as they came before the royal landing, each moored in its due and proper place.

And when all were ready the principal and senior councillor went forth to inform the King thereof. Then did King *Narāyaṇa* take a ceremonial bath and clothed himself with the royal warrior's robes, breeches that had two pointed curves at the knee and were covered with a red cloth embroidered with gold, a wholly decorated gown, three pieces of embroidered silk that hung from the waist, and covered the limbs as far as the knee, ornaments that covered the chest and the back and bejewelled chains of gold. And having placed upon his finger a ring of the nine gems and upon his head a crown of diamonds, the King attached a short sword to his waist. Thereafter he went forth to the royal barge *Garuḍa Vāha*, bearing a sword in his hand.

When the auspicious moment arrived, the court seer sounded the *Victory Gong* and music burst forth from divers instruments. The two cannons, *Mahā Riksha* and *Mahā Jaya*, were fired; the soldiers raised cheers that could be heard from afar. Loud and rousing was the sound of the war gongs and drums; and loud was the sound of the poles as they struck the decks of the barges. In close array all the boats moved forth, whilst the river bubbled and water flew in sprays. And when they had made a sufficient distance, cheers were again raised for victory. The paddlers quickened their strokes and the river was filled with waves; sprays flew everywhere as if they were smoke, for so numerous and close together were the barges of war. A great host of men both on land and water followed the King to the North; numerous were the armies that marched on both banks of the river. The King wended his way along the river *Kambaeṅ Bejra* to the town of Tak and thence passed the city of *Tera*, heading along the river towards *Chiengmai*. Upon arrival at



the village of *Chang*, he commanded that the royal camp be pitched; and there he performed the ceremony of felling a tree, symbolic of victory over the foe. And when the ceremony was over, the King commanded *Chao Phya Koshādhīpati*, *Phya Rājavamsarya Seni* and *Phya Tejo* the valiant to invest the hostile city of *Chiengmai* with speed and to give battle to its defenders. The King of *Chiengmai* sent forth his valiant *Lao* troops to meet the advancing foe; the van-guard engaged the opposing van-guard, the two wings attacked the opposing wings. The van-guards fought with lances and javelins; elephants engaged elephants, whilst the riders hurriedly fired their guns; gunners fought gunners with guns, filling the whole forest with smoke; spearmen met spearmen with spears; swordsmen struck at swordsmen; lancers engaged lancers in true and proper style; long-swordsmen fought long-swordmen, each side displaying its skill; those armed with clubs fell upon one another with clubs; those who carried a short sword and a shield engaged those who were similarly armed; archers shot at archers and bowmen at bowmen; those with daggers struck at those with daggers; and those with sabres cut at those with sabres. And some shot arrows, whilst others fought with a sword; some carried a spear or lance with which they chased their foes. Many were the wounded and numerous were the killed. The tumult caused by elephants, horses, weapons, guns, cannons, cheers, gongs and drums filled the large forest; dense smoke from the guns and cannons darkened the sky. So fierce was the fight between the *Tai* and *Lao* that many of the warriors lost the cloth that covered their loin and limbs, left were they with only their short breeches. When the battle had calmed down, the *Tai* praised the *Lao* for their skill, whilst the *Lao* extolled the *Tai* for their bravery. And seeing that both the *Lao* and *Tai* were weary, *Phya Siharāj Tejo*, who sat upon a white horse with a smile, ordered a drum to be struck and the men to cheer and retire. The *Lao* too struck their drum and together they retreated from the battle ground. Thereupon did *Phya Siharāj Tejo*, who was mounted upon a white horse, move forth before the *Lao* and shouted to their leaders, saying: "Numerous are the valiant who have died. Let him who is a man of skill come forth to give me battle for the honour of our name and the wonder of *Lao* and *Tai*." All the *Lao* leaders saw him; and, well-knowing that he was valiant and skillful, not even the bravest of them dared to come forth and all held their silence. Seeing that no *Lao* replied to his

words, *Phya Siharāj* Tejo knew that there was none so dexterous as he and forthwith displayed his miraculous power. Mounted upon his horse and waving his sword before the *Lao*, he held his breath and became invisible to all. Excited by terror of such power, the *Lao* fled in disorder. Having commanded that the fugitives be gathered together, the King of *Chiengmai* retired into his city. The gates were closed and heavily barred; men were speedily driven up the parapets; sand, lead and gums were heated that these might be poured upon the enemy should they attempt to scale the city wall. And seeing that the *Lao* had been put to flight, the leaders of *Ayudhya* drove their men to encircle the city.

When night came, the sound of the gong, that the *Lao* sentinels used to signal the passing of the hour, struck the ears of King *Nārāyaṇa*, who thereupon enquired of *Chao Phya Koshādhipati* as to whence came the sound. And upon being told that it was the sound of the gong of the sentinels in *Chiengmai*, the King asked why his leaders had encamped so close to the city. To this *Chao Phya Koshādhipati* replied that the distance between the city and the royal camp was no less than ten miles. Thereupon did the King cause the distance to be measured, that the words of *Chao Phya Koshādhipati* might be put to the test; and it was found that the distance was as reported by the commander. And the King again asked how it was that they could hear the gong, seeing that it was ten miles away. To this *Chao Phya Koshādhipati* replied that the sound was an augury that presaged the conquest of the city and that very gong would fall into the hands of the King. Pleased with this reply, the King called for men who would be willing to wrest the gong from the sentinels. Twenty men, who had committed offences and were imprisoned, offered their service, pledging their life that they would not fail in the attempt. And having been released, the prisoners armed themselves and together they went under the city-wall. Thereafter they recited mantras that caused the sentinels who guarded the parapet to fall asleep and so they wrought that the large gong was conveyed to King *Nārāyaṇa*. Thereupon did the King command that the twenty men be rewarded and that the gong be covered with gold.

After a few days had passed and seeing that no *Chiengmai* army came forth to give battle, the King took counsel with his men as to the step that should be taken, since those of the city would neither



give battle nor do homage according to ancient custom. And the advice that the counsellors gave was that a letter should be sent to the King of *Chiengmai*, calling upon him to give battle in accordance with custom or else to surrender to *Nārāyaṇa's* mercy. This advice the King approved and a letter was inscribed in his name, saying :—

"Know ye that these are the royal words and commands of the Most Mighty, Powerful, Virtuous and Excellent *Prince Ekādaśaratha Cakravartin*, Descendant of a Victorious Dynasty of Rulers, King of the City of *Ayudhyā*, to the King of *Chiengmai*. Whereas We have led Our host before this city, not because of any covetous desire to wrest from thee thy throne, nor thy treasures, nor thy men, nor thy horses, nor thy elephants, but by reason of Our deep reverence for the Faith and Our desire to be possessed of the Image of the Lord that is called *Buddha Sihinga* and the Image that is made from sandal-wood ; We hereby request thee to tender to Us these two Images, that amicable relations may be maintained between *Chiengmai* and *Ayudhyā* for ever more. Shouldst thou be unwilling to grant this Our desire, then lettest thou come forth with thy men to give Us battle in accordance with royal custom ; We leave thee the choice of the method of war, for thou mayest choose to fight with elephants and horses or in any other wise."

A messenger was sent bearing this letter to the King of *Chiengmai*, who thereupon caused a reply to be inscribed, saying :—

"These are the words of the Great Lord of this Land, the Mighty Warrior Prince *Paramindrāditya*, the Great King who rules over the city of *Chiengmai*, to the King of *Ayudhyā*. Whereas Our Grandsire has ruled over *Śrī Satanaganahut*, Our August Father over *Candapuri* and We Ourselves rule over *Chiengmai*, it is manifest that Our transcendental virtue it is that gives Us possession of the two Images in which We have deep faith and which We constantly worship. We refuse to give thee the Images, even though thou hast led thy host to war and wrought sore affliction upon monks, brahmins and all the people. To these two Images are We prepared to sacrifice our life."

A messenger brought this letter to King *Nārāyaṇa*, who, having been acquainted with its terms, himself inscribed a reply, saying that just as it behoved monks and brahmins to abide by their rules of moral conduct, so also did it behove kings to wage war in accordance with royal custom ; that little did it lack that the King of *Chiengmai*



was not a timid woman, seeing that he made such long tarrying; and that if he were unwilling to surrender the two Images, then let him guard well his city lest it be taken by assault. The messenger was bidden to tender this reply to the King of *Chiengmai*, who thereupon caused the defence of his city to be strengthened and kept his silence.

Thereafter did *Phya Siharāj Tejo* offer to storm the city; and, having mounted upon his horse, he led his men before the city-wall, shouting with a loud voice "I am *Phya Siharāj Tejo*, foremost warrior of King *Nārāyana*. Let him who is skillful come forth to test his skill!" And the *Laos* who were guarding the parapet hurled their javelins and fired their guns causing weapons and bullets to descend as rain; and were casted down molten lead, heated sands, resins and gums. But the undaunted *Tai* warriors moved forward to the wall and *Phya Siharāj Tejo* contrived to climb thereon, holding a sword in his hand. Of those upon the parapet many were killed and many more were put to flight. The soldiers destroyed the wall and entered into the city, killing a large number of the *Lao* defenders. King *Bodhisāra* of *Chiengmai* himself perished in the struggle; and were taken captive Queen *Dibya Lila*, Prince *Vamṇa* son to the King of *Chiengmai*, and many of his councillors. Treasures of great value were also brought to King *Nārāyana*. Having conquered the city, the King caused the Image that was named *Buddha Sihinga* and the Image that was made of sandal-wood to be brought forth to his royal pavilion; and there was celebrated a glorious festival.

Thereafter the King called upon *Phya Saen Luang*, a councillor of the King of *Chiengmai*, to tell him whether it were true, as he had heard, that the Image that was named *Buddha Sihinga* could move through the air in miraculous wise. And *Phya Saen Luang* replied that the Image had wrought such a miracle in the days when it was in *Pātaliputra*; but that it could do so no more since the day that an evil person had stolen the gems that formed its eyes; and that at some later period the Image was borne away from *Pātaliputra* by the Prince of *Sargapuri* to his own city; thereafter it was conveyed to the city of *Lanchang*, then to *Umdapuri* and thence to *Chiengmai*.

When King *Nārāyana* was preparing to depart from *Chiengmai*, he caused Prince *Vamṇa*, a son to King *Bodhisāra*, to be made King

of *Chiengmai* in the father's stead, and the former Queen and all the councillors were suffered to remain in *Chiengmai* as heretofore. And, having caused the two holy Images to be placed upon a royal barge, the King led his host back to *Ayudhyā*. Upon arrival at the royal landing, he caused all the councillors and people of the city to pay reverence to the Images. The way along which they were to be borne was covered with sand and fenced with cocoa-nut palms, banana trees and sugar canes; and along this fence umbrellas of state were placed at regular intervals. The Images of the *Buddha* were borne upon a gilded sedan and honoured with four umbrellas of state and four sun-shades having rims of gold.

Upon arrival in the royal palace, the Images were placed in the royal chapel; and, whilst many ceremonies were being performed, the Image that was called *Buddha Sihinga* did work divers miracles. The gong that was captured from *Chiengmai* was kept in the royal palace. The King showed his mercy to those of *Chiengmai* who had accompanied his host and suffered them to return to their city. And from those days it was that humble offerings were sent by the Kings of *Chiengmai* without fail.

King *Nārāyaṇa* had studied the sciences and precepts from the holy monk *Brāhma*, a man of venerable age whose ears touched even to his shoulders. Well versed in the *Veda* and *Mantra*, the sage knew the means whereby he could fly through the air in miraculous wise. Hence was *Nārāyaṇa* a virtuous, mighty and powerful King. One day when seated upon his barge he commanded the tide to recede and; lo, the tide receded at a stroke of his sword; and he commanded the tide to rise and again did the tide rise at another stroke of his sword. Whatsoever the King desired that thing came to pass. His fame spread in all directions; foreigners from *Krosan* and *Frenchmen* from *France* presented him with flowers of gold and silver that they might secure his good will. King *Nārāyaṇa* was fifteen years of age, when he came to the throne; and, having reigned for twenty-five years, he passed away at the age of forty. He was born on a Tuesday.

#### REIGN OF KING RAMECVARA.

When King *Nārāyaṇa* had passed away, the councillors assembled together and took counsel among themselves to decide as to whom they should tender the royal estate, seeing that the King had no son to succeed him. Those who knew the story of *Chao Phya Crī*



*Surāṣakti* said that King *Nārāyaṇa* had a son by the *Lady Kusāvatī*, whom he had given away to *Chao Phya Sura Siha*, having made a vow that he would have no issue by any lady other than the Queen; wherefore was the *Lady Kusāvatī* taken away when she conceived her child. *Chao Phya Cūri Surāṣakti* was this son and to him should the royal estate be tendered. To this advice all the councillors gave their assent and besought *Chao Phya Cūri Surāṣakti* to assume the throne. But *Chao Phya Cūri Surāṣakti* refused this request, saying that he still had a father and to him should they address their entreaty. The councillors thereupon carried out his behest and begged *Chao Phya Sura Siha* to assume the royal dignity. Thus did *Chao Phya Sura Siha* come to the throne and assumed two styles, namely, King *Dhātādhipati* or King *Rameṣvara*. The *Lady Upala Devī* was appointed Principal Queen and the Princess *Suta Devī*, a daughter to King *Nārāyaṇa*, was appointed Second Queen. To Queen *Suta Devī* was born a son, Prince *Kuana*, at whose birth the earth trembled and divers miracles came to pass. It was said by the people that a great and virtuous spirit had come into the world.

King *Rameṣvara* delighted not in the royal dignity and was wont to make his way accompanied only by a few body-guards; no procession of retainers had he to follow him. To see his people happy and prosperous was his sole pleasure. *Chao Phya Cūri Surāṣakti*, who was appointed *Mahā Uparājā*, directed all affairs of state. Invested with the supreme power, the *Mahā Uparājā* in those days ruled in King *Rameṣvara's* stead. The King built four monasteries, namely, *Puraparim*, *Ratna Prasāda*, *Parama Satya* and *Jangayī*. The monastery of *Sumaṅgalā Rāma* was repaired by the King's command. King *Rameṣvara* was fifty-five years of age when he came to the throne; and, having reigned for fourteen years, he passed away at the age of sixty-nine. He was born on a Friday.

#### REIGN OF KING SURIYENDRĀDHIPATI.

On Saturday, the fourth day of the waxing moon of the sixth month of the year one thousand and sixty-three of the Little Era, the councillors besought the *Mahā Uparājā* to assume the crown. On the day that the coronation ceremony was performed a miracle came to pass, for the royal palace was filled with a wondrous light; wherefore did the councillors tender unto him the style and title of



King *Suriyendrādhīpati*. This King was later known also as *Narāmarindra*. His Queen was called *Phra Pan Pi Luang*.

Some time thereafter Prince *Kuan*, who was the son of King *Ramegvara* and had then reached the age of fourteen years, did gather together a large number of men and conspired against King *Suriyendrādhīpati*. When tidings thereof came to his ears, the King forthwith commanded the Prince to appear before him in the royal palace. Upon being asked if it were true that he had gathered together a large number of men and was conspiring against the King, Prince *Kuan* replied that he had collected his followers with no evil intent; for his purpose it was to defend the city against its foes. But deeming that the Prince's manners were suspicious, the King took counsel of his councillors; and these tendered the advice that, according to the law of the land, he should suffer death who gathered men together with evil intent to the King. King *Suriyendrādhīpati* thereupon commanded that Prince *Kuan* be put to death in accordance with ancient custom.

Three sons were born to King *Suriyendrādhīpati* by his Principal Queen and they were named *Surinda Kumāra*, *Vararāj Kumāra* and *Anuja Kumāra*. The youngest of them, Prince *Anuja Kumāra*, was a brave but cruel man. One day the Prince caused his young retainers to swim across the river; and of those boys who dreaded punishment at his hands and tried to swim across, many weaklings were drowned. When tidings thereof were brought to him, the King was filled with anger and caused the Prince to be put to death in the same manner as those boys who had died.

And three other sons were born to King *Suriyendrādhīpati* by another Lady of the Palace, and their names were *Kumāra Indra*, *King* and *Ting*.

The King built a temple that had a spire forty feet high and placed therein a foot-print of the Lord that was encased with copper and covered over with gold. Two monasteries were built at *Bodhi Ching Lam*, and these he named *Parama Kshatriya* and *Dubiyarima*. A sacred monument was repaired and beautifully covered with gold; and this he named *Sukwan Bodhi Vajra Cūṭiya*. A holy Image of the Lord was cast with the five metals and the height thereof was twenty-five feet; this Image he named *Sayambhūdutak-āmāli*.

In that year two white elephants, a male and a female, were

trapped by the governor of *Kāñcanapurī* and these were tendered to the King. The female was given the name of *Indra Aira* and the male *Parama Cakra Pushpa Danta*.

King *Suriyendrādhīpati* was a virtuous, mighty and powerful Prince; and well versed was he in the *Veda* and the *Mantra*. At night time he was wont to make himself invisible and mingled with the people, that he might thereby learn of their happiness and their ills. He was wont also to suppress all robbers and evil-doers without fail. His personal retainers were versed in the *Veda* and the *Mantra*, and then he sent forth cloaked in invisibility against robbers and evil-doers. Whenever it came to his ears that there was a person who knew the *Veda* and the *Mantra*, then was the King wont to set his retainer against such person while deep in sleep; he who suffered no hurt thereby was taken into the service of the King, whilst he who boasted vaingloriously suffered punishment. King *Suriyendrādhīpati* was a good marksman, few equalled him in skill. He could hit birds that flew at night and even fish in the water could be also hit, though he saw but their reflection. Well versed too was he in the science of astrology, knowing full well the fate that lay in store for his land. And these were the words wherein he embodied his prophecy: "Red as blood will water in all rivers and canals become and reddened as fire the clouds and the sky. The earth itself will be all of a tremble. Into the city will evil spirits enter and its guardian angels will slink away. Winter will become summer. Sickness and disease will befall men and animals. Medicinal plants will lose their beneficial property and edible fruits their delicate taste. The angels who guard the Faith will guard the evil-doer, whilst the virtuous will no long be held in esteem. Friends will become enemies and wives unfaithful to their lord. Upon the high-born will the lowly bring degradation. The taught will rebel against the teachers. Evil-doers will rise and the wise will fall. Pumpkins will sink and slates will float. Low in the lanes will the noble creep whilst proud on the roads walk the slave. Sudden death will come upon men and women in their prime. There will be a scarcity of rice and food and men will meet starvation. Evil spirits will live among men. Monks and Brahmins will suffer. Robbery and theft will prevail. Low land will become dry and high land will turn into swamps. Sadly eclipsed will be the light of this our Faith. The frivolous will possess riches. Over this our land will aliens hold their sway."



### THE LATE PRINCE PURACHATRA.

Memorial speech on the occasion of the demise of General His Royal Highness Prince Purachatra of Kamphengphet, made by the Senior Vice-President at the 252nd Council Meeting held at the Home of the Siam Society on Wednesday the 7th October, 1936:

"Your Highness, Gentlemen,

"This being the first Council meeting to be held after the recent but untimely demise of General His Royal Highness Prince Purachatra of Kamphengphet, it is my sad but honourable duty to say some valedictory words about the life of His late Royal Highness in so far as this was connected with the aims and work of our Society.

"Let it at once be said that Prince Purachatra took an early and lively interest in the proceedings of the Siam Society. In the year 1922 the Prince was made an Honorary Vice-President, a position he occupied till his death. His Royal Highness showed his practical interest by attending our meetings and giving cinema displays dealing with railway construction in Siam. Later on, from 1928 to 1932, the Prince took on himself the position of Leader of the Transport and Travel Study Section, and it was due to his active and kind assistance that the Society was able to organize a number of successful excursions to places of historical interest in this country, besides the memorable trip to the famous Angkor group in 1930. As the Leader of the Transport and Travel Study Section Prince Purachatra had a seat on the Council, and with his bright intelligence and practical turn of mind the Prince made a particularly valuable member of the Council, which always listened attentively to his instructive and businesslike contributions to the various matters under discussion. More than once Prince Purachatra's proposals were found to be the ideal solution of a knotty problem.

"The death of such a distinguished personality as the late Prince of Kamphengphet not only constitutes a heavy loss to the Siamese



Nation, whose interests he served so brilliantly during many years in his capacity of Commissioner of the Royal State Railways and later as Minister of Commerce and Communications, but also to our Society, which deplores the loss not only of an exceptionally highly gifted personality but also of that of a kindhearted and very sympathetic fellow man. Prince Purachatra will long be remembered in our hearts.

“HONOUR and Peace to his memory!”

The following Resolution was passed by the Council of the Siam Society at their meeting on Wednesday the 7th October 1936:—

- 1) That the Senior Vice-President's speech in memory of His late Royal Highness Prince Purachatra of Kamphengphet be respectfully submitted to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Kamphengphet accompanied by a letter of condolence on behalf of the Council and Members of the Siam Society. The letter to be signed by the Senior Vice-President in the unavoidable absence of the President.
- 2) That at an early date the Senior Vice-President, accompanied by Members of the Council, proceed to Wat Benchamabopitr there to place a wreath at the urn containing the mortal remains of His late Royal Highness.

11th October 1936.

Herewith is the letter sent:—

Her Royal Highness

The Princess of Kamphengphet,  
Bangkok.

May it please Your Royal Highness,

On the occasion of the sad demise of General His Royal Highness Prince Purachatra of Kamphengphet, whom our Society had the honour to count among its Honorary Officers, I, on behalf of the Council and the Members of the Siam Society beg Your Royal Highness to deign to accept our most respectful and heartfelt condolences.

His Royal Highness Prince Purachatra, Your Royal Highness's distinguished consort, was a personality of rare qualities and exceptional gifts, a fact which is well known to all students of the recent history of Siam, the country he served so brilliantly and so well. Also in the annals of the Siam Society the Prince has left his mark by the kind and active interest he took in all its affairs. His Royal

Highness's name will therefore not be forgotten in our Society, and will long live in our hearts.

I enclose a copy of the address pronounced in memory of his late Royal Highness at the 252nd meeting of the Council of the Siam Society held on the 7th of this month.

I have the honour to be

Your Royal Highness's most obedient servant,

ERIC SEIDENFADEN,

Senior Vice President,

The Siam Society.





## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

SIR J. GEORGE SCOTT, K. C. I. E., *Burma and Beyond*. Grayson & Grayson, London. 349 pages, with 32 illustrations and one map.<sup>(1)</sup>

This is a very interesting work written by the late Sir George in his well-known, witty and humorous style, which has made his former publications—*The Burman, his Life and Notions*; *Burma: a Handbook*, etc., as well as his contributions to *The Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*—so deservedly popular. Sir George knew what he was talking about from long and intimate relations with the inhabitants of the country, where he proved himself one of the most able and gifted of British colonial administrators. He was a truly great man, but—and here comes the but—the ethnologist or historian will close his latest and last book in disappointment. Although it is brilliantly written, and not without considerable merit, it gives scant or often no information at all when the question comes up as to which race or language group this or that tribe belongs. The author often gives excellent characteristics of the various peoples, when describing their modes of dressing, living, courting, and so on; but much too often the racial or language question is left open. Sir George was an old man when he wrote this book, and one gets the impression after having read it, that it is more of a collection of chatty reminiscences than a standard work seriously treating of the various peoples and tribes described by him. Still with this reservation the book is well worth reading and the reading is enjoyable.

<sup>(1)</sup> Within the last couple of years several books of merit have appeared treating of the history, ethnology or archaeology of Further India, but lack of time and absence from Siam have, so far, prevented the writer from reviewing them in the columns of this Journal. As, however, at least two of the four books to be mentioned hereafter, have already been reviewed by competent pens, the following is only to be considered as a series of notes on the more outstanding subjects—culled here and there—from these books.

Only the last chapter (written by Lady Scott) treats of the Burmese, as the idea of the author was to limit his work to the races encircling Burma proper.

We are thus treated to a kaleidoscopic review of the peoples living to the east, north and west of Burma:—the "rag-bag of races;" the Karen; the Brè; the Padaung with their stiff giraf-necked belles; the Shan; the Palaung; Kachin; Chin, and, not to forget, the head-hunting "wild" Wā.

Most of what is told here is already known from "the Handbook," but this time the description is spiced with Sir George's personal experiences and exploits from the time when the Shan States were brought under British control in the eighties of last century.

On the very first page Sir George Scott asks "Who were the autochthones dispossessed by the Burmese in the 6th century B. C.?" and he thinks they were the Selu'ng or Proto-Malays. This may be correct, as it is now thought that the distant forefathers of the present Malays came from Eastern Tibet. These Proto-Malays may, however, have partly dispossessed partly absorbed the Melanesoids, who are surmised to have been the population of Indochina in remote times. Another *érudit* on Burmese matters, Mr. F. H. Giles (Phya Indra Montri), says as follows: "I think that the autochthones were the Riang, an ancient people who occupied most of the Shan States prior to the southern march of the Thai. The Riang are a Khā people of the Môn-Khmer race. When the Siamese speak of the Kari-angs, meaning the Karen, they are speaking with the voice of racial memory. These people were very important and probably the autochthones; they are related to the Palaung."

With regard to the Burmese Mr. Giles says:— "The Burmese, as a race, did not exist in the 6th century B. C. The people we call Burmese to-day are undoubtedly a mixture of many peoples and tribes. Their language is so undeveloped that it is almost impossible to write a foreign word intelligibly in it. The Burmese language seems to lack all the elements of a cultured tongue. The Burmese are a composite people who would seem to have entered the realm of civilization only about a thousand years ago. The Burmese came from Tibet and moving down from the Tibetan plateau entered Burma along the valleys of the Brahmaputra, the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy rivers. Their movements south must have occupied centuries. The Burmese call themselves Myamma and Bhama. Both



these words are probably derived from the name of the river Brahmaputra down which some of the Tibetan tribesmen came.

It is certain that a portion of the Tibetan tribesmen came through the Chindwin because the Burmese are connected with the Nagas, Kukis, Mishmis, Lepchas, Abors, Bhutias, and the cognate tribes of the Brahmaputra valley.

It would seem that the earliest movement was along the Chindwin river. Several Tibetan words appear in the Burmese language, and there is an evident linguistic and ethnic connection between the Burmese and the Lashi, Maru, Hpon-Ngachang, Lissaw tribes found at the upper waters of the Irrawaddy. There is a close relationship between the Changs and the Burmese. The Burmese language cannot express the word "Chang" except in writing, but pronounce the word "Chin." The plains of Burma were occupied by the Shan (Thai), the Pyu and the Môn. As the Tibeto-Burmese tribesmen pushed south they dispossessed these peoples and established themselves in the rich plains.

The original ethnic formation of the ancient Burmese was composed of Tibetan tribesmen and the peoples they met with on their march south. In the first century A. D. the Pyu, the Kanyan and the Sak (called by the Burmese Thet) migrated to Pagán. The Sak were a Chin tribe. As time passed the original Tibeto-Burmese tribesmen mixed with these three peoples and it was thus that the race we call Burmese to-day came into being prior to the 11th century.

The Shan and the Môn people had both racially and culturally affected this composite mixture called the Burmese."

On page 13 the author suggests that instead of Thaton, the Môn capital sacked by the great Anawratá, one should read Angkor, which is rather improbable. We know at present the history of ancient Cambodia so well that this interpretation is out of the question. A war of conquest of the dimensions ascribed to King Anawratá, which should have resulted in the sack and plunder of Angkor Thom, would certainly have left traces if not in the inscriptions of Cambodia then otherwise. But there is nothing which can justify such a suggestion.

On page 16 Sir George says that the Môn are Dravidians. Now Dr. Hutton (Census of India) opines that early Mediterraneans brought the prototype of Austro-Asiatic languages to India, they



being followed by other Mediterraneans, in company with brachycephalic people from the Anatolian plateau, the Alpine Armenoids.

These other Mediterraneans spoke probably Dravidian, and they were responsible for the highly developed city culture in the Indus valley some 5,000 years ago.

The Môn, like the Cambodians, are a brachycephalic people speaking a so-called Austro-Asiatic language while the Dravidians are long and narrow-headed speaking a language widely different from that of the Môn-Khmer.

To identify the Môn with the Dravidians is therefore not possible.

It seems more probable that the original Môn-Khmer were a branch of the Alpine Armenoids. Recent study of the hair forms, colour of eyes, facial building etc. of the Lawā of North Siam seems to confirm the latter hypothesis.

To this Mr. Giles says:— "The Mahābhārata speaks of the Asuras as being the builders of stone cities in Western India. The word Asuras is the same as the modern corruption Assyrian. I think that the Môn, Khmer, Lawā, Palaung, Karen and many other tribes, having various names, are sprung from the Khā who were the original inhabitants of Eastern Asia."

On page 18 the author says that the Môn Language is all but extinct. However, about a decade ago the language census of Burma gave the number of Môn-speaking individuals to be between 300,000 and 400,000 to which may be added another 50,000 in Siam. From private researches I am convinced that Môn language in its spoken form is still far from dying out in Siam.

The number of Burmese speaking people in Burma is given as a little less than half of the total population. If this is estimated at 15 millions the Burmese speaking persons number only about 7 millions which is considerably less than the number of Thai-speaking persons in Siam.

In his chapters on "a rag-bag of races" Sir George writes very entertainingly on a number of tribes of which now only small and scattered remains are left. He mentions thus the Danu, Dayè, Yaw, Kadu and Taungyo as living on the Myelat plateau or Middle country east of the Irrawaddy river.

Mr. Giles, however, writes to me that during the four years he was in charge of the administration of the Myelat he never met a single Yaw or Kadu there, but a few hundred Dayè living in Thatnakan

who, like the Dann and Taungyo, speak an archaic form of Burmese.

Mr. Giles adds that the Danaw, who also live on the Myelat plateau, "have a language of their own, and although only a remnant of this tribe still exists in the State of Pendaya they are quite interesting people. The surrounding people say that the Danaw speak the language of birds."

The Taungthus, also living in the Myelat, are, of course, well known in Siam as wandering pedlars. Here we call them Dongsu. They are met with right over to the Mekhong river and even in Cambodian territory. Sir George thinks they are of Karen extraction. This is confirmed by Mr. Giles who says:— "The word Taungthu is Burmese and means a hill man. They call themselves Ba-o, and I am inclined to think that they are a sept of some very ancient Karen or Khā tribe, probably mixed with Pyu blood. There is a state called Thaton in the Southern Shan States, entirely populated with and governed by Taungthus, and three other Taungthu states; viz:— Loi-ai, Loi-maw and Pinhui (in Tai, Pangmi) in the Myelat.

The word Taungyo is also Burmese and means the bone of the hill, for these people live mostly on the hills.

Their dress is the same as that of the Taungthus, only it is brown in colour instead of black."

About the famous leg-rowers of the Inle lake, the Inthas, the author states that they claim to have come from Tavoy and to be of Arakanese origin. Mr. Giles confirms this, saying "their ancestors were Arakanese prisoners of war, settled in Tavoy and eventually brought to this lake at the head of which stands the capital town called Yawnghwe after the State of the same name. There is a settlement of Tavoyans in Bangkok, also prisoners of war, being the same people as the Inthas. The word *intha* means son of the lake.

Sir George treats the Karens in two chapters but, though he says that they are not Thibetans; and are as much Pre-Chinese as the Thai are, he does not try to find out *what* they really are. That the Red and the white Karens speak allied languages is well known, but physically speaking they are very different. The Red Karens, by reason of their queer skull forms, present something of an anthropological puzzle, so much so that Mr. Giles believes that the Karen-ni or Red Karens belong to the Wā people, as there is, living south of the Wā country, a people very much alike the Red Karens.

It must, however, not be forgotten that the Red Karens are long



and narrow-headed, which presents a difficulty when trying to group them together with the bullet-headed Wā.

The Brè people seem to be very unattractive and used formerly to be just as bad-mannered as the Karen-ni, kidnapping and murder being some of their pastimes. Mr. Giles, who knew them well, as well as their language, says there were four different divisions of them and that Brè is the Burmese way of saying Bghai or Red Karen. They are divided in the Lakù, the Hasin, and the Manaw.

They live to the west of Karen-ni.

The many Karen beliefs which strikingly recall Biblical statements need not surprise one. The myths about the Tower of Babel and the Deluge, besides others, are not limited to the Karens but are found among many other tribes living in Indochina and Southern China. Such beliefs may be a common human heritage handed down from the times of our remote neolithic ancestors.

Mr. Giles informs me that the Karens known to him did not share such beliefs.

One of the most interesting and likeable tribes of the Shan States are the Palaung, the tea planters, who form a State of their own, Tawngpeng. A more rough and less sympathetic branch of them are the Rumai, who live in the northernmost part of the Shan States stretching over the border into the Chinese Shan States in Yunnan.

The Palaung are Môn-Khmer, their language showing a relationship with Lawā and even Khamu. They are hard workers, having large tea gardens and breed good ponies. Though somewhat addicted to opium eating, they are a homely and decent people, and have found their great mentor in Mrs. Leslie Milne, who describes them very sympathetically in her excellent book "The home of an Eastern clan." Of special interest are their quaint courting ceremonies, which are taught in regular schools!

Mr. Giles adds as follows:— "Tawngpeng is a Shan corruption of the Burmese word Taungbaing which means 'The Rulers of the Hill.' This term curiously enough is synonymous with the word *sailendra*, the name of a Malay dynasty, and also, I think, in Chaiyā Sailendra is simply Sela Indra. The name of the Palaung state is Loilaung (Doi Luang i. e. the great hill)."\*

The Kachins, who are generally considered to be a gang of blood-

\*According to Prof. Cœdès the emperors of Fu-nan for the first 600 years bore the title of "Kings of the mountains" or "çailārāja."



thirsty, headcutting savages—what they no doubt were in former times—seem, after better relations have been established with them, thanks to the British Raj, not to be without good points. Their men are brave at least, and made a good record for themselves during the last World War when they served in Mesopotamia.

The Kachins are no doubt Mongols, having trickled in from the north. The author mentions that types which suggest Negro blood (excepting the hair) are sometimes met with among the Kachins. This may be due to a remote mixture with a former Melanesian stock. Negroid traits are also found among the dwarfish Lutze to the north of the Triangle (in northernmost Burma) and in certain tribes in Northern Tongking. The "maiden's bowers" are not restricted to the Kachins, but are also met with, at harvest time, on the paddy fields of the Puthai and the Saek of North-Eastern Siam.

On page 183 the author is speaking of the knotted string language of the Mexicans. This is of course a slip of the pen for the Incas of Peru. Ideographic messages, like those used by the Kachins are also found among the Khamu around Luang Phrabang.

The Chins (whose real name is Chang), living on the hither side of Burma proper, are quite interesting, though as dirty as the Karens and the Kachins, and seem formerly to have possessed a kind of civilization.

When the British started to pacify their country, they were head hunters, slave dealers and raiders of the worst kind, living in cunningly fortified villages situated on the top of inaccessible hills.

All this has been altered for the better, and the Chins now make good soldiers of the King-Emperor. They are tall, nearly 6 feet high, and very enduring. They are expert in bowmanship, their bows being quite five feet across. Another remarkable thing is their erecting of stone monuments, which shows influence from the ancient Near East.

Sir George mentions the mythun, which he thinks is a cross between a cow and a buffalo! This animal is, however, a tame bison or gaur, the Kating of Siam, which is exclusively kept for sacrifices to the spirits.<sup>(1)</sup> The Chins have a vague belief in a Supreme Being, and they seem altogether to be well worth a thorough study.

The author knew the Shans better than most, but the reviewer

(1) *Vide* Colonel J. Shakespear, *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, pp. 31 and 32.

does not agree with him when he calls them "a waning race", nor when he says: "There is nothing that is so much calculated to excite despair as to the possibility of writing a history of the Thai." The writer is more optimistic on these points. Shan land is scattered over with ruins of deserted fortified towns which, if properly studied by competent archaeologists, would no doubt assist greatly in patching together the history of the Shans (who, of course, call themselves Thai and Thai Yai, i.e., the great Thai, at that).

The Shans are excellent agriculturists, good traders and they do not smoke much opium. With such qualities it should not be too difficult a task to get something good out of them. And then their women are so pretty and winsome, adding to the attractiveness of an already attractive people.

Sir George seems (page 225) to consider Bishop Pallegoix's book the standard work on Siamese history and says that Siam became a kingdom in A. D. 1350! The first Thai kingdom in Siam (Sākhothai) was of course established a hundred years earlier. To say that Lāo, i.e., North Siamese, or Thai Yuan, is barely comprehensible to the (Southern) Siamese, as far as talk is concerned, is indeed to overstate the case. Furthermore Viengchan (and *not* Vienchau) is not identical with Lantsang, which is another name for Luang Phrabang, which latter town is certainly not the residence of the French Governor-General of Indochina, who resides at Hanoi in Tongking. The Résident Supérieur of French Laos resides, however, at Viengchan.

It must be said that the manner in which the British treat the Rulers, and their subjects, of the Federated Shan States is beyond praise, and might serve as a model for other States who have Thai rulers and Thai populations under their suzerainty.

The so-called Riang silk-weaving tribes are, as usual, not classified by the author, but we have seen that Mr. Giles does not hesitate in ranging them among the Mōu-Khmer. The Riang Sek girls' dancing much resembles that of the Saek of Atsamat in Changvat Nakhon Phanom in N. E. Siam, while their band music produced by bumping lengths of bamboo of different gauge on the ground has its counterpart in that of the Semang pygmies in Malaya. Mr. Giles says about the Riangs:—"These people live in the States of Mōng Nai; Mawk Mai; Mōng Sit; Lai Kha and parts of Hsen-wi, and have even migrated to the State of Loi-long in the southern



portion of the Myelat." There are three divisions of the Kiang:—The Yang-sek and the Yang-lam, both of whom he knew well and the Yang Wan Kun, whom he did not know, are found in the State of Lai-Kha, adjoining Mōng Nai. They are, as already stated, a very ancient tribe, probably belonging to the original Môn group, and may be connected with the Lawā, Palaung and Rumi. The Yang-lam, or Black Yang, have become Shanized.

The Akha or Kaw and Labu or Mussō, treated by the author in two different chapters, all belong to the Mussō people. Sir George evidently did not know that the Mussō are identical with the Mōsso, who formerly formed an independent State in the eastern marches of Tibet, near Batang, on which the Reverend Father F. Goré has written a masterly monograph.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Mussō have, as the author says, been "remorselessly harried and oppressed by the Chinese and robbed of whatever happiness they might once have had."—The treatment of the pre-Chinese races in Central, Southern and South-Western China is a sad and revolting chapter in the history of the great Chinese people, utterly unworthy of a great nation. The Mussō are the kinsmen of the partly still independent and proud warlike Nosu, by the Chinese nicknamed Lollo, and physically and, at least formerly, spiritually, belong to one of the finest races of south-eastern Asia. It is a great pity that their well-ordered and civilized kingdom was destroyed by the Chinese as, if left alone, they might have gone very far. Their scattering and emigration southwards, right into the Shan States and Northern Siam, has not improved them, especially after they have taken to opium smoking. Still they are a picturesque and in many ways a very likeable people.

The Wā are divided into the "wild" and "tame" Wā, and are undoubtedly Môn-Khmer. Their language and that of the Lawā of North Siam is predominantly the same.

The wild Wā, with their disgusting habits of head hunting, skull avenues and their indulgence in strong spirits, besides their dirtiness, do not call for much sympathy.

However, they are a virile race, conspicuously industrious, good agriculturists, well behaved when sober, and honest. They build formidable fortified villages approached by tunnels; they understand how to construct cane bridges and bring the water into their villages through bamboo aqueducts.

(1) BEFEO, Vol. XXIII, (1923).



Their weakness for head-cutting is, of course, part of an ancient fertility rite shared by the Chins, Kachins and the Dayaks in Borneo. As the author says, the "wild" Wā possess a morbid attraction, and if treated in the right manner they may develop into something good. Add to this that their girls are comely—when newly washed!

Sir George does not think much of the "tame" Wā.

They are more alike to our Lawā who, however, are certainly not unsympathetic, as Mr. Hutchinson's and the writer's studies of them have shown.<sup>(1)</sup>

The ancient Lawā tombs in the form of long barrows and the memorial stones set up for the dead all point to a western origin of the Lawā, as of all Môn-Khmer people. Such graves are also found in the Maehangsón district in North Siam and would be well worth a closer study.

The Shans, like the Thai Yunnan and the Lāo of Luang Phalang, all admit that the Wā, Lawā and Khamu, were the original owners of the land, which is clearly proved by the participation of these people in the ceremonies of enthronement of princes and house warming still performed in all northern Thai States.

The last chapter in the late Sir George Scott's book is a sketch of the Burmese people written by Lady Scott. It goes without saying that the beloved Shway Yoe's consort is pronouncedly sympathetic in her treatment of the Burmese people. They may be very likeable *now*, but to say that they are not cruel by nature is hard to believe when confronted with their cruel and almost incredible misdeeds committed during their frequent wars with Siam. The memory of Burmese devilry is sadly attested by the ruins of the former so splendid Ayudhya, besides thousands of destroyed temples scattered all over Siam from Chiengmai in the North right down to the Gulf of Siam. Lady Scott lays stress on the freedom of the Burmese woman as something apart among Oriental peoples. In this connection she forgets the social status of the Thai women, which has always been a very high one from ancient times, a fact attested by the description of the Nan Chao empire given by contemporary Chinese chroniclers. The general characteristics given of the Burmese peasant as being carefree, affectionate, kindly, good-

<sup>(1)</sup> E. W. Hutchinson and E. Seidenfaden *The Lawā in Northern Siam*, JSS, vol. XXVII, pt. 2, 1935

tempered and living simply, also applies to the Siamese peasant, who is even more attractive because of his strong and refreshing sense of humour.

As said in the beginning of these notes Sir George Scott's book, all its outstanding merits notwithstanding, does not fulfill the expectations of either the anthropologist or the ethnologist. A new work on these lines treating all the races of Burma is, therefore, very much needed; and we believe that the right man to write this book would be Major J. H. Green, who now for years has been studying these problems on the spot.

October 1935.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

BEATRIX METFORD, *Where China meets Burma*. Blackie & Son, Ltd., London and Glasgow. 231 pages with 32 illustrations and one map.

This is a very charming book which seems to have been written by just as charming a lady.

The authoress is the wife of a British Civil Official who served for years in the north-eastern parts of Burma, principally in the Kachin-peopled district east of Bhamo, later in Bhamo itself, and, for a spell, as Consul in Tengyueh, the Chinese capital of westernmost Yunnan. Without pretending to be a savant Mrs. Metford gives us a vivid, sympathetic and very interesting picture of the various peoples among which she and her husband lived and worked. Her descriptions of the wild but beautiful and fascinating scenery in Northern Burma are excellent too, so excellent that they make one long to go and see it for oneself. The authoress gives a mass of interesting and illuminating information on the Kachin people, their life, manners and beliefs. As already said in the notes on Sir George Scott's book, these people may in their wild state be a dirty and somewhat disgusting crowd, but their contact with the British and the American Baptist missionaries has changed them much for the better. The Kachin maidens may be quite pretty, and their menfolk are *men*. It is typical of the manliness of the Kachin men that, while other people will swear by this or that god or spirit, the Kachin warrior will swear on his sword! It is surprising to hear that the Kachins only number 200,000 souls. Still had it not been for the timely advent of the British they would have overrun the Shan States and even Burma. The Kachins despise the Shans and have already penetrated well into their Northern States. The Kachins are pure



Mongols, and may really have come down from Thibet; their oral traditions and phenomenal memories are striking. Their main home is in the so-called triangle in northernmost Burma. One agrees with the authoress when she says:—"What a shame it is that education tends to make these tribes relinquish their old customs and native dresses!" This point was brought up before the International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology, held in London last year, and it was stressed that the aims of education, whether by the respective colonial administrations or the missionaries, should be to preserve all that is best in the native culture. This includes, of course, in most cases, the national and tribal dresses. The aims of Western education must not be to make Europeans or Americans of the natives but to enoble them within the circle of their own customs, manners and outlook of life.

Mrs. Metford comments on the tall and spare stature and straight or even aquiline noses of the Lissus or Lissaws. She suggests that this is due to an intermingling with tall Aryan tribesmen. Captain Kingdon Ward, the famous botanist, in his fascinating book "The mystery rivers of Thibet", makes the same observations about the populations of the upper reaches of the rivers Salwin and Mekhong, and suggests that such Aryan traits may be due to mixture with some of Alexander the Great's soldiers who penetrated into these mountainous wildernesses—the old story of "Alexander's lost legion", so entertainingly used by the late Sir Rider Haggard in his romance "Ayesha!" It might perhaps be well worth to study our Lissaws living in the hills of the Ampho' Muang Fāng district to ascertain whether Aryan traits are also to be found among them. Professor Credner in his book "A journey through Yunnan undertaken by the Geographical Institute of the Sun Yat Sen University" (reviewed by the writer of these lines in J.S.S. Vol. XXVI Part 2) also speaks of Lissaws with handsome almost European faces. The Lissaws are good fighters and some of them are found in the ranks of the Burma Rifles, one becoming an officer and even a King's Indian orderly officer! During Mr. Metford's stay in Tengyueh he and Mrs. Metford made extensive travels in the eleven Shan States which comprise that district. The great majority of the population is Thai, besides some Achangs, Palaungs, Kachins, and Lissaws. Chinese are only found in the market towns and the jade mines, because Tengyueh is famous for its jade and its Chinese craftsmen who are masters in the art of the wonderful jade carving. Yunnan



is probably one of our globe's most beautiful countries, with its blue, misty mountains, silvery rivers, sparkling cascades and almost incredible wealth of splendid flowers.

These Shan States or Chinese Shan States are remains of the former powerful Nān Chao empire, destroyed by Kublai Khan's troops in A.D. 1254. The Thai population is not happy under the Chinese rule and, though their princelets are proud of their Chinese origin, their orientation is always Burmawise. The authoress' description of the Yunnan Thai is very sympathetic and, when reading about these frank, hospitable and charming people, one wonders if the late Reverend J. H. Freeman's dreams of a great united Thai empire will ever come true.

October 1935.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

R. O. WINSTEDT, C. M. G., M. A., D. Litt. (Oxon), *A history of Malaya*. London, Luzac and Co. 259 pages with 21 plates and 24 illustrations and plans.

This handsome and well-written book, based upon solid facts and the results of the studies of the foremost authorities on the history of Indochina and Insulinde, such as Prof. Coedès, M. Mansuy, Mlle. Colani, Mr. Evans, Prof. Krom and Dr. van Stein Callenfels, represents, as a matter of fact, all what is known up till now of the pre-history, ethnology, archaeology and political history of Malaya, and as such is an invaluable source of information to all students of such matters pertaining to our part of the world. The author has spent a life time in Malaya and is himself a distinguished Malay historian, having written a series of excellent histories of the British Malay States, besides being an accomplished Malay scholar. After having carefully read his book, always with intense interest and often with enthusiasm even, one can only say that it redounds to his honour. This book will become the standard work on Malaya and it is a work which one will often turn back to and reread with pleasure and profit. Due to Siam's relations with Malaya, which politically date back to the end of the 13th century, Siamese readers should also be very interested in the contents of this book.

Sir Richard Winstedt treats, first of all, of the primitive tribes of the Malay Peninsula. Of these the Negritos are, no doubt, the lowest on the rung of the ladder. Still the reviewer does not agree with the saying that "Take from the Negrito his bow and arrow, which presumably he borrowed from another people, and nothing is

left but a society that only differs from that of the apes in enjoying a greater skill in capturing game, in being able to communicate information to one another and in utilizing that information." This is certainly to underrate these little folks' spiritual qualities and their brain capacity. And it does not go well together with the facts that "greed and cruelty, lying and quarrelling, theft, murder and adultery are foreign to their simple nature, while the women are patterns of modesty." Surely in this respect the Negritos might serve as models to us so-called highly civilized people!

Father Schebesta,<sup>(1)</sup> who lived in the camps of the Negritos for a considerable time, considers them, and as it seems rightly so, as "wahre und volle Menschen." Their religious beliefs also exceed that of a fear of thunder and lightning and a hope of a life after this on "the western blessed isles." It seems now an established fact that the Semang, as well as their kinsmen, the Mincopies of the Andamans, the Aetas in the Philippines and the numerous pigmy population of the interior of New Guinea, possess a primitive monotheistic religion.

That some of the peoples of Indo-China are more or less infused with Negrito blood is not mere "guess work" but more or less proved, and will no doubt be proved a clear fact as soon as a thorough-going anthropological investigation, assisted by the new science of blood grouping, can be carried out. There are only about 2,000 individuals left of the Semang people; and of that number a couple of hundreds are found in Siamese territory.

The author asks the intriguing question: "When did the Semang reach Malaya? Did they arrive after the Sakai?" And he says that their skeletal remains do not appear before the late neolithic period. To this the writer would say that he still believes the Semang to be the autochthonous population of Indochina, and that he agrees with Dr. Hutton in his views (*Census of India*) that the Negritos were the first, that the Proto-Australoids came afterwards, and that through the crossing of Negritos with Proto-Australoids the Melanesian race was born. The discovery of skulls of Australo-Melanesoid, Indonesian and Negrito types by M. Mansui in the caves of Northern Tongking, goes very well with Dr. Hutton's theory. Where the Negritos came from is another question, which is not likely to be solved for some time to come yet.

<sup>(1)</sup> Father Paul Schebesta, *Bei den Urmalaysen in Malaya*, reviewed by E. Seidenfaden in JSS, vol. XXIII, (1930) pt. 3.



There are some 20,000 Sakai in Malaya. The author says they are, in the remoter mountainous parts, a typical Indonesian, alias Nesiôt, hill breed (on a substratum of Australoid-Melanesoids), akin to many hill tribes in Yunnan, South China, Indochina, the Philippines, Formosa, Borneo, Celebes and Sumatra. The writer thinks it would not be easy to name all the tribes the author has in mind, but would confine himself to say that the Sakai seem to be near relatives of the Weddahs of Ceylon and Hither India and most probably descend from a Proto-Australoid stock. Their skull forms and wavy hair should speak in favour of such a classification. On the other hand the language of the Sakai appears to be a Malayo-Polynesian one with a mixture of Môn-Khmer words, but language may be adopted and does not prove anything from the racial point of view when not coupled with anthropological facts.

The Jakun, also called Proto-Malays, which live in South Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Johore and the Riau archipelago and the coast of Sumatra, seem to have a strong admixture of Melanesian blood, so much that they, in Johore, resemble veritable Papuans. The Jakun are identical with the Selung of Trang and Phuket and the Mawken of the Mergui archipelago. Though Kern, for linguistic reasons, placed the cradle of the Malay race in ancient Champâ (Annam) it is now thought, on cultural evidence, to have stood somewhere north-west of Yunnan. The author says that all Jakun tribes are Mongoloids like the civilized Malays, most of them having bullet heads and lank hair. The Jakun talk even a purer Malay language than the civilized Malay do. In future one shall therefore have to class the Malays with other Mongoloids. Sylvain Lévi, the late well-known French savant, thinks to have found evidence that India, several thousand years ago, received a pre-Dravidian civilization from seafaring Jakun people which, among other things, gave India the outrigger boat besides several place names. According to these theories the Proto-Malays, followed by the true Malays, would have migrated from the borderland of Eastern Thibet and marched down through present-day Burma till they reached the Bay of Bengal. Here they evidently developed into a seafaring people and spread downwards to their present southern habitats.

In that case the ancient Champâ may have been peopled by a wave of Malays coming up from the Malay Peninsula.

With regard to the civilized Malay no one type does exist, due to the mixture down the ages with so many other peoples such as the



Achinese colonists in Perak, the Bugis in Selangor and Javanese in Kelantan and Patani. To this it must be added that the Malays of Perak and Patani are undoubtedly much mixed with Sakais and Semangs respectively.

When treating of prehistory the author says that only in three places in the Far East has a pure palaeolithic culture been found, namely in Mongolia, along with the Peking Man, and on the terraces of the Solo river in Java. He might have added to this Siam, where Prof. Fritz Sarasin<sup>(1)</sup> in certain caves in Central, Western and Northern Siam has discovered a purely palaeolithic culture which he calls provisionally "Siamian," and which he ascribes to a Proto-Melanesian people.

The later Mesolithic culture in South-East Asia has left numerous traces and its tools have been found in Tongking and in Sumatra, in the latter place by Dr. van Stein Callenfels. The implements belong to a type which in Europe are ascribed to the palaeolithic period though in the Far East they hardly date longer back than about 5,000 B.C.

Prehistorians have agreed to call the artifacts of the Mesolithic age Hoabinhian after the scene of their greatest incidence in Tongking—this name was adopted instead of Baesonian, so called after the first place, also in Tongking, where they were found.

These implements are of three distinct sub-types:—(a) large roughly chipped tools, (b) smaller tools more neatly chipped and found mixed with protoneoliths (roughly chipped stones with polished edges), and (c) still smaller tools or retouched fragments rarely occurring with protoneoliths.

Everywhere there is abundance of Hoabinhian tools chipped on one face only, the waterworn surface of the other face being left as nature fashioned it. In Siam and on the east coast of Sumatra (with one exception) only Hoabinhian palaeolithics have been found. The artifacts found by Dr. Fritz Sarasin in some caves in Northern, Central and Western Siam belong to sub-type (a). They were by this savant ascribed to a Proto-Melanesoid people.

Researches in Perak have revealed two periods of Hoabinhian culture. At Gua Kerbau, also in Perak, grinding and pounding stones and grinding slabs were used throughout both periods.

To further quote the author:—"So about 5,000 B.C. a Mesolithic

(1) Fritz Sarasin, *Prehistoric Researches in Siam*, JSS, vol. XVI, pt. 2.

civilization using palaeolithics spread on the east to Northern Tongking and on the west to Sumatra. In Tongking this civilization developed a still rather rough series of protoneoliths with ground edges, which can be traced in Japan, the Liukiu Islands and Formosa, through Luzon to Sarawak, Dutch Borneo and Celebes, through Siam down to Malaya and in East Java. Whence did this polishing come? In Java's Sampoeng cave Dr. Stein van Callenfels found, above the lowest or arrow head layer, no stone implements but hundreds of bone and horn adzes, spatulas, fish hooks and spear-heads. In the caves of Northern Tongking among thousands of palaeoliths and protoneolithics were found a few horn and bone implements of the Sampoeng type, while in Southern Tongking fewer stone and more bone and horn implements were found." The author asks himself "Did a race emigrate from the Asiatic continent to Java, abandoning as it went its stone implements for bone and horn?" To this it may be said that a similar sequence is known from the cultural epochs in Europe, where the Magdalenian culture, though it was a continuation of the Aurignacian stone culture, introduced many implements of bone.—Dr. Callenfels' recent excavations of shell heaps (*Kjökkenmøddinger*) on the main land opposite the Penang island resulted, not only in the finds of the skeletal remains of an Australo-Melanesoid race with Hoabinhian palaeolithics, but also of what may represent another race. Together with the skeletal remains of this other race were found ground neolithic axes of a type which is the nearest parallel to the Mongolian type. Perhaps this other race represents a wave of immigrants coming from the north, says the author. These shell eaters practised second burial and strewed red powder over the skulls of their dead. It is, of course, well known that the custom of strewing red powder over the skeletons of the dead is universal for the old stone age peoples, and that it probably was meant as a substitute for the life-giving blood, thereby showing these ancient forefathers of ours as believers in the continuation of life beyond the grave.

The author says with reason that all evidence points to the ancestors of the Papuans and Australian aborigines having passed down the peninsula leaving remains in the shell heaps and the caves as well as in the physical characteristics of the aborigines of Malaya.

The origins of the various neolithic cultures in East and South-East Asia still present a difficult problem and seem far from having



been solved. The author says that the earliest of these cultures is represented by stone arrowheads and that it spread from Japan to Java, without reaching the continent of Asia. The sharp-necked Dravidian axe of India, Japan, Celebes and Guam, or the Papuan axe, or again the Philippine adze, found in Hongkong, Celebes and Polynesia, are all unknown in Malaya. The neolithic types found in the West, in Sumatra, Java and Bali are, however, abundant in Malaya. Of particular interest was the discovery of a fine deposit of neoliths of slate made on the Tembeling in Pahang. Such slate implements have, according to Dr. Callenfels, hitherto only been found in Celebes.

As will be seen, here is still a rich field for study, and it will be of great interest to see how the savants will be able to unravel the interrelations of all these types, and thereby clear up part of the many migrations which, thousands of years ago, must have been taking place in our Far Eastern hemisphere.

The true axe is practically unknown in South-East Asia and only the adze is used. The reviewer has had the opportunity of studying large collections of neoliths collected during the last 7 or 8 years in Siam and Malaya, especially by a Dane, Mr. Havmøller, and he has not found a single true axe represented among several hundreds of such implements. However in Northern and North-Eastern Siam a few shouldered celts of a diminutive size have been found.

Formerly the presence of the high shouldered adze found in the Philippines, Indochina, Burma and India (Assam, Orissa and Chota Nagpur and in the Munda district) was associated with the area of the so-called Austro-Asiatic language family (made famous by the learned Father William Schmidt) but since Dr. G. de Hevesy, who identified the Easter Island script with the script of Mohenjo Daro in the Indus valley, has raised doubts about the existence of such a family, we may again be on unsafe ground.

The author says that there must have been wave after wave of races, and that the high shouldered adze may mark a wave of Indonesian culture that swept through India from the Further East later than that Indonesian wave which, about 2,000 B.C., carried the pointed neolithic, but not the high shouldered adze, throughout Malaya down to Insulinde.

All this discussion of various neolithic cultures shows, however, only how little positively we know of the migrations of the different races which by and by peopled the two Indies and Insulinde.



Patient labour and concentrated study for years on these problems coupled with systematic excavations in the thousands of Indochina's limestone caves will be necessary before we can hope to arrive at a fuller knowledge on some or all of these puzzling problems. So far one can say that the types of neoliths found in Siamese Malaya are all represented among those obtained in British Malaya.

Next Dr. Winstedt tells us about the megalithic culture of the Mundas, which somehow reached Malaysia.

There are three types of megalithic civilizations in South-East Asia. The first is the dolmen used as a grave and is found in East Java and the Sunda Islands. The stone sarcophagus also occurs in Bali. This type is associated with a late neolithic and the bronze age.

The second type uses the dolmen, not for burial, but for monuments in honour of dead chiefs or ancestors. Such monuments are also found in the countries of the Nagas and Kuki-Lachai and Chin tribes.

The third type are slab built graves. These are found in Sumatra, Java, the Philippines and in Perak.

As far as the reviewer knows, no megalithics of any of these three types have ever been found in Siam; but the giant stone jars, called *Thuey Thevada*, on Thung Chieng Khām in French Northern Laos, may belong to this cultural circle. Such jars have also been found in Celebes.

Throughout Malaya, Sumatra, Java and the lesser Sunda Islands upright stones or menhirs and rows of such, called alignments, are erected in the memory of deceased ancestors. It is not yet possible to decide to which of the above three megalithic types these menhirs and alignments belong. The important monument at Birhela Lima in Kelantan would indicate that it was erected by the second wave of megalith builders who entered Malaya and Insulinde about 350 B.C. Circles of upright stones have been found in two places in North-East Siam, namely one in Ampho' Mūang Samstb, Changvat Ubon, at Ban Non Khu, where one sees eight linga-formed stones of a height of 1.5 m. arranged into two perfect circles; the other place is found in Ampho' Phak Bang, Changvat Chaiyaphūm, a little south of the branch district office of Ban Yāng. Here are 13 large stelae-shaped stones of red sandstone arranged in an ellipsoid circle. One of them bears an inscription in Sanscrit which Prof. Cordès judges

to date back to the 7th or 8th century A. D.<sup>(1)</sup> These stone monuments may of course belong to the Indian Brahmanic culture and be the handiwork of Khmer and Indian colonists respectively, but they may perhaps also originally have been set up by people belonging to the second wave of megalith builders mentioned above by the author.

The interesting slab graves found in Perak have no counter-parts in Siam, so far, but stone quoit-discs, stone pounders and cord marked pottery have been found in Siamese Malaya too, the latter right up to Rajaburi's cave dwellings.

The bronze drums dug up in British Malaya are of the same pattern as our so-called Karen drums which again are identical with the drums found in Tongking and South China. Some 20 years ago such a bronze drum was dug up at Kalasin in N. E. Siam. Dr. Callenfels puts the beginning of Indochina's Bronze period at 500 B. C. and that of the Archipelago at 300 B. C. These bronze drums belong to an Indonesian art period which was followed by the Indian art introduced by the Hindu immigrants, who began colonizing "Greater India" probably some time before the birth of Christ.

The author ends his chapter on Malayan prehistory by saying: "The Indonesian was already a carver in stone and a worker in wood, he worshipped bulls and knew enough of agriculture to keep domesticated cattle and irrigate rice fields. Besides which the Proto-Malay knew enough of seamanship and stars to find his way in outrigger boats to India"—and Madagascar. We have still many Indonesians among the populations of Indochina proper; thus a great part of the so-called *Moj* or *Khā* tribes in Southern Annam belong to the Indonesian stock both linguistically and physically speaking.

The reviewer has dwelt so long on the first chapter of Sir R. O. Winstedt's book because its contents are of common interest to the study of all Indochinese prehistory, and much new light has been thrown on the various problems connected with the migrations and various cultures of Further India, thanks to the information given in this chapter.

The Hindu period has been treated by many competent savants, and we are not going to discuss its different aspects in detail here. Suffice to say that Malaya was colonized at the time of Christ by

<sup>(1)</sup> Commandant E. Seidenfaden *Complément à l'Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge pour les quatre provinces du Siam oriental*, p. 7 and 35 to 36, BEFEO, vol. XXII, 1922.



parties of South Indian traders, priests and warriors. They talked a colloquial Prakrit, married into leading Indonesian families and introduced the Indian ideas of kingship. Both Brahmanism and Buddhism were introduced, the latter under the form of Hinayāna. These Indian emigrants did not content themselves with colonizing Malaya but, having crossed the peninsula at the height of Bandon, spread to Southern Siam, Cambodia and Annam where they founded the well known states of Dvāravati, Funan and Champā. It is curious to note how little in the way of sanctuaries or monuments these Indian settlers have left in British Malaya. It looks like this part of the peninsula was only used as a station en route to those countries where the Indian genius for statebuilding and art should, later on, celebrate their greatest triumphs in the empires of Cambodia and Java at Angkor and Borobudur. In Siamese Malaya, however, many remains are left of the Hindu occupation and ancient Ligor and Chaiyā were the capitals of highly civilized petty States before Cambodia or Java reached the zenith of their power and artistic glory.

As the question of the Çailendra dynasties is actual just now, and Dr. Quaritch Wales' latest discoveries may cast an entirely new light on the connection of the Srīvijaya empire in Sumatra with the peninsula, the writer shall not here pronounce any opinion on the author's treatment of this period in Malaya's history but wait till more clarity has been obtained with regard to these debatable matters. It seems that at the time the Thai threw over the Cambodian rule in Siam, Ligor, or Nakhon Srithammarat, was an independent state. But already towards the end of the 13th century the kings of Sukhothai had conquered the entire peninsula right down to Johore. The author's description of the Malay empire of Malacca, the Muhammedan conquest and the subsequent disappearance of Hindu religion and customs makes interesting reading indeed. War and women play the most important rôle during those times, which did not see much constructive statesmanship. Next comes the Portuguese period with d'Albuquerque's conquest of Malacca in 1511. The Portuguese chapter in the history of Malaya is revolting reading, about treachery, cruelty, bigotry and wholesale massacres. Sir Hugh Clifford says in his excellent book<sup>(1)</sup> on the exploration of Further India that the Portuguese misdeeds in the Far East caused the bare mention of their name to stink in the nostrils

<sup>(1)</sup> Sir Hugh Clifford—Exploration of Further India.



of the natives. It was d'Albuquerque who sent an envoy to Ayudhya to the court of King Ramathibodi II, and from that time Portuguese mercenaries served in the royal Siamese bodyguard. Their descendants are still with us. The Portuguese were in their turn overthrown by the Dutch and though the latter also were severe taskmasters they were much more humane in all respects.—The author writes very interestingly on what he calls "The Johor Empire." The reviewer thinks, however, that the title of emperor given to the Sultans of a minor portion of Malaya and Sumatra is too ambitious, all the periodical splendours of these rulers notwithstanding.

The end of the 18th century sees the British on the scene, with great pioneers and far-seeing colonial administrators like Francis Light and Sir Stamford Raffles, the creators of present-day British Malaya. The chapter on Penang's relations with the reborn and powerful Siam, and their disputes about Kedah, is exceedingly interesting from the Siamese point of view also. It ended as we know with the cession of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu to the British in 1909. The last chapters of the book describe the state of bloody anarchy and lawlessness in the Malay States in the seventies and eighties of last century; the successive British interventions and the present state of well-ordered administration and general well-being of all the races living in the colonies, federated or unfederated States of Malaya. Here, as elsewhere, the British genius for treating non-European races has stood its test. The names of Swettenham, Maxwell and Hugh Clifford as well as the Sultans of Johore and other enlightened Malay rulers are intimately associated with this last stage in the history of Malaya.

October 1935.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

โบราณวัตถุสมัยโบราณ ภาค ๑-ศิลปกรรมสมัยสุโขทัย (ปณ อินทวงษ์) สมัยนิยม  
Antiquities and ancient sites in Siam, 1st part, by LUANG BORIBAL  
BURIPIHAND (Pun Inthawongs). 62 pages with 61 illustrations.  
Bangkok 1933.

Luang Boribal Buripland, the young energetic and well informed curator of the National Museum in Bangkok, has under the above title written a very readable and useful little book.

This book was written on the occasion of the author's 36th birthday, or when he had completed the first three cycles of his life.

In the preface to his book he takes the opportunity, and well may he do so, to express his gratitude, first of all, to the Nestor of all studies of things Siamese, Prince Damrong Rajanuphab, for so many years his august chief and teacher, and next to Prince Bidyalongkorn, the last President of the Royal Institute under its old form.

By antiquities the author understands pieces of art or cult and buildings which are more than a hundred years old. A rather low estimate one should think. Nor does one agree with him when he says that Khmer antiquities are all of the same style only differing in size. Whosoever has studied Khmer art and architecture and compared the primitive Khmer forms with those of the periods of Indravarman or the so-called classic (Angkor) period will certainly disagree with Luang Boribal in this sweeping statement of his.

The short but interesting chapter on ancient Buddhism in India also contains some statements to which one must take an exception. With all due respect for the lofty moral and ethic doctrines of the great Sage from Benares one must protest against the author's saying that only the stupid and ignorant profess Brahmanism.

If the author had ever read the Upanishads or studied the gospels of love preached by the South Indian Brahmanic teachers, he would not have pronounced such an unjust verdict.

With regard to the author's explanations concerning the Adibuddha and Bodhisattva ideas, the writer would say that while the Adibuddha belief arose due to a desire to explain the creation of the world, life and humanity, which desire is unfulfilled by the atheistic doctrine of Buddha Gautama, the belief in the Bodhisattva is simply a revival of the old Messianic longings which are met with in the religions of many ancient peoples, both in the old and the new world. Furthermore as the Bodhisattva idea is post-Christian it may well have been inspired by direct loans from the Christian religion.

On page 12 the author says that stone and brick buildings in India were unknown before the golden era of Buddhism under Emperor Asoka, well called the Constantine of Buddhism. He forgets, however, that early Indians have left us imposing ruins of stone-built and well-planned cities in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa (c<sup>h</sup>. 3000 B.C.) in the Indus valley.

In a following chapter we are told how the Buddha image was evolved by the two schools of Gandhara and Magadha, the latter school altering the European Hellenistic form of the great Teacher's



image into a more Indianized one. Foucher is, of course, the great authority on the origin of the Buddha image, but the author gives a very good and instructive description of the various attitudes of the Buddha with the characteristic mudras or signs of the hands by help of which one is enabled to define the particular event, in the life of the great Teacher, which the image represents.

This chapter is really helpful to students of the images of the Buddha, so is the note on unbaked clay ex-votos (Phra Phim) contributed by the learned Buddhist iconographer, H. R. H. Prince Damrong, who has proved, among other interesting things, that the unbaked clay Phra Phim found in the limestone caves in Siamese Malaya are composed partly of clay and partly of the crushed bones of Buddhist devotees who in this way hoped to acquire merit. This custom originated in Tibet and spread evidently downwards through the Srivijaya empire to the Malay peninsula. It is thus a Mahayanistic custom and reached here in the 7th-8th century A.D.

In treating of the so-called Dvaravati era the author has fully adopted the views of Prince Damrong, who supposes that Dvaravati embraced the, up till quite recent time, eight inner administrative circles (มณฑล) having for its capital Nakhon Pathom. The writer does not agree with the author about Nakhon Pathom for various reasons already set forth in his "Guide to Nakhon Pathom,"<sup>(1)</sup> but would fix the capital more to the north either at Kampheng Sen, or perhaps at Lopburi. However, about the antiquity of the site of Nakhon Pathom there can be no doubt. The beautiful stone images of the Buddha, dating back to the Gupta era of art (A.D. 317-807), prove that fully.

Whether the famous missionaries, Sona and Uthara, ever reached this country is open to doubt, and though the author claims that the term Suvarnaphumi covers both Burma and Siam extending over Cambodia right to the frontiers of Annam, it seems more than reasonable to suppose that by Suvarnaphumi is meant the coast of Southern Burma, at that time a Môn country, as this is situated just opposite the shores of India across the Gulf of Bengal.

Like Prince Damrong, the author presupposes that the original population of the former eight inner Monthon was Lawā. There is, however, no proofs whatever for this hypothesis. When the Indian

(1) Major Erik Seidenfaden, *Guide to Nakhon Pathom*, p. 9.



colonists arrived they most probably found a Môn or Proto-Môn population living in the Menam valley. This Môn population was no doubt mixed up with remnants of earlier tribes of Chaobun, Proto-Malays and even Melanesoids and Negritoes.

To state that the Buddha images from the late period of Dvaravati have Lawā faces is not correct either. If the author will study the photographs taken by the reviewer during Mr. Hutchinson's and his study trip to Bô Luang in November 1932, he will see that the Lawā faces are quite different from those of the Buddha images mentioned by him. Mr. le May, who is now working on his thesis on Buddhist iconography in Siam, and I have for years studied the evolution of the Buddha images of Dvaravati and we arrived at the conclusion that from a pure Gupta style in the beginning they deteriorated into first a Gupta-Môn, then Môn-Gupta and finally into a pure Môn type. The grotesque clay heads found at Phra Pathomechedi do not represent Lawā people but a negroid element or they may even be caricatures only.

With regard to the Brahmanic images representing Vishnu or the composition of Siva and Parvati wearing a turban-like headgear found at Mu'ang Srithep in the Sak valley, in the former Circle of Prachin as well as at Petchaburi and similar images found in many places in Cambodia, the author declares that neither he nor the French archaeologists have been able to classify them for certain. They do not seem to belong to the Pre-Khmer period or that of Dvaravati. However, as a Sanscrit inscription has been found at Mu'ang Srithep dating back to the 5th century at which time Fu-nan was the overlord of both Cambodia, Siam and Malaya we think that there is a possibility that these images may belong to an early school of art of that empire. The slender bodies of the images in question and the exaggerated proportions of the various anatomical parts seem to point the South Indian (Dravidian) style, which flourished during the early Pallava period in that country.

Under the period of Srivijaya (A. D. 657-1157) the author mentions the beautiful Bodhisattva images, of which a very fine one of Lokeshvara, now in the Bangkok Museum, represents a real treasure of art. As already stated in the writer's notes on Sir R. O. Winstedt "A history of Malaya" the relations of the Srivijaya empire with Malaya will have to be taken up for renewed discussion after the latest discoveries made during the recent research work carried out by Dr. Quaritch Wales.

The last chapter of Luang Boribal's book is devoted to what he calls the Lophburi period.

In conformity with the views held by Prince Damrong, the author divides Siam into three districts or Anakhet, all of which he peoples with Lawā, namely, (1) Dvāravātī with Nakhon Pāthom as capital; (2) North Siam called Yāng or Yonok; and (3) North-Eastern Siam called Kotrabur or Panom with Nakhon Phanom as capital. These three States existed prior to the Khôm or Khmer, he says.

From what is known at present about the ancient population of Siam, i.e., at the time when Dvāravātī is supposed to have flourished, the writer can only agree in part with these ideas. First of all at what time were there no Khmer in N. E. Siam? The Khmer must have arrived very early in Indochina long before there was anything called Dvāravātī. As already said, the population of Dvāravātī was certainly a kind of Môn-speaking people mixed with remnants of Negritos, Melanesoids and Malays. With regard to Northern Siam it is correct to assume that its population was Lawā, as Mr. Hutchinson's and the reviewer's researches reveal, and this Lawā population even inhabited the banks of Lower Mè P'ing but, in spite of the name Lavo for ancient Lophburi, there is no proofs whatever that the Lawā ever reached so far south. The nearest primitive Môn-Khmer to Lophburi, living a good distance away to the east in the Sak valley in Changvat Phetchabūn, are the Nia Kuol or Chaobun who speak a language quite different from that of the Lawā. The pre-Thai population of N. E. Siam is to-day represented by Chaobun in the north-west and south of the former circle of Khorat or Nakhon Rajasima; the Khmer in Eastern and Southern Khorat (Changvat Buriram), in Changvat Surin and Khukhan, besides the Gui people living in both of these changvats and in part of Changvat Roi Ett. The Môn-Khmer people, such as the Sô, Kal'ung, Saek and Suï living in the changvats of Sakol Nakhon and Nakhon Phanom, are newcomers, having been deported hither during the wars with Viengchan and Annam more than a hundred years ago.

There are no traces of Lawā in N. E. Siam, whose original population must have consisted of above mentioned peoples with the Khmer predominating.

N. E. Siam represents, of course, the major part of the ancient Tchen-la of the land, by the Chinese called Wentan. Tchen-la of the land was at the end of the 8th century A. D. brought under the dominion of Fu-nan by King Jayavarman II.



The building of the chedi called Wat Kukut at Nakhon Lamphun is not a proof of the influence of Lavo but rather of direct influence from Ceylon, as this monument is a copy of the famous Sat Mahal Prasada, as already shown by Prof. G. Coedès in his *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental*.<sup>(1)</sup>

The author mentions the various famous chaussees built by the Khmer in order to keep up communications with the distant parts of their farflung empire. The first is the route from Angkhor Thom (Yasodharapura) to Phimai; the second, the author says, ran through Chantaburi to Lophburi. This is certainly a mistake. This second route probably ran westwards from Angkhor Thom through the Prachin Province, thereafter turning north-westwards to Lophburi. Remains of this route have been found and the writer hopes one day to be able to trace it up in its entire length. This route is no other than the legendary *Thăng Phra Ruang soai nâm*.

The route said to have run from Lophburi through the Sak valley up to Pitsaunloke and Sukothai is unknown to the writer.

The author's hypothesis that there also were roads connecting Lophburi with Mu'ang Uthong, Nakhon Pathom, Rajaburi and Pet-chaburi is interesting and well worth taking up for a closer examination in the field.

The author is speaking about a Lophburi school of art and architecture, but he is certainly too sweeping when he includes in this school all the Khmer temples of Inner, Western, North-Eastern and Eastern Siam. We do not see the reason why he should do so, as these temples are all built in the true Khmer style. It would be interesting to hear what the real difference is between the Khmer and the so-called Lophburi style. With regard to the images, however, one may speak of a Lophburi Khmer and a Lophburi Khmer-Thai style.

The author says that the difference between the stone sanctuaries constructed in honour of the Brahmanic gods and of the Buddha consisted in the former being built on an eminence while in the case of the latter their floors were level with the surrounding ground. This is not correct with regard to the Phimai temple, which is a Mahayanistic one and is approached by steps.

The author also says that the Phanom Rung temple was Brahmanic (because of its sculptures). The writer agreed with him formerly,

(1) BEFEO, vol. XXV, 1925 No. 1-2, p. 83.



but since a sculpture has been found representing Queen Maya giving birth to the Buddha one is not so sure. The explanation may be that this temple originally was dedicated to Brahmanism and later on made into a Buddhist sanctuary.

The writer is not sure that the author is right when he speaks about the two periods in Lophburi architecture, stating that the oldest buildings are those of bricks because so was the case in Cambodia, where the primitive Khmer used bricks to be followed by the stone buildings of the Angkor period.

Dvaravati was first conquered by the Khmer about A. D. 1000 when the Khmer had already substituted bricks for stones as building material. The brick built sanctuaries in Lophburi such as Thevasathan for instance are therefore probably built by Thai imitating the Khmer style.

When reviewing Luang Boribal's book the writer has been forced to criticize quite a number of his statements, but the impression as a whole is that here is a young, gifted Siamese archaeologist, who is really trying to do something to spread the knowledge of and the love for archaeology among his country-men, and as such he has done meritorious work.

October 1935.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

เกี่ยวกับพระพุทธรูปองค์เดิมกับพระพุทธรูปองค์ใหม่ Concerning Phra Buddha Sihing and considerations (on the same)—by the same author—is a small book of 27 pages only. In this the author tries to prove that of the three images of the Buddha Sihing the one now kept in the National Museum in Bangkok is the true one. The images of Nakhon Srithammarat and Chiengmai both represent the Buddha in the attitude called Bang Maravichai, i.e., of Buddha's victory over the evil Tempter, besides resembling each other very much, the latter being in the true old Chiengsen style. The image kept in the Museum in Bangkok depicts the Buddha in the attitude called Bang Samathi, i.e., in his state of illumination and it bears unmistakably the imprint of Ceylonese handiwork.

The reason why the two first images resemble each other so much is, according to Prof. Cordès, due to their styles both coming from the Kingdom of Magadha, during the period of the Pala dynasty (A. D. 730-1197) when its great Buddhist university, at Nalanda, was famous over all the East.

Having himself studied the Buddhist stone images preserved in the

fine Museum in Colombo, the writer is inclined to think that Luang Boribal is right in his conclusions and that the Bangkok image of the Buddha Siling Nilama is really of Ceylonese handiwork. The image is certainly very old, though the legendary age of 1778 years seems less believable. It is a pity that the illustrations, nine altogether, of the images in question are so very badly reproduced.

Bangkok, October 1935.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Review of "HISTORY OF INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAPAN AND SIAM IN THE 17TH CENTURY," and "CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE AND SIAMESE KINGS AT THE BEGINNING OF TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE," by KIICHI GUNJI, Consul-General for Japan in Singapore.

My works on the historical relations between Japan and Siam consist of two books, written in Japanese. One is entitled "History of Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th century"; and the other is "The correspondence between the Tokugawa Shogunate and Siamese Kings at the beginning of the Tokugawa period." The former was published in October 1934 by the Japanese Foreign Office, and the latter will be published shortly. The former deals with diplomatic intercourse, trade, voyages, and other negotiations between Japan and Siam from the time when international intercourse began to the end of the Seventeenth Century; and the latter chiefly deals with the national letters exchanged between the Kings of Siam and the Tokugawa Government, the despatch of Siamese envoys and various matters connected therewith from 1606 (the 11th year of Keicho) to 1629 (the 6th year of Kanyei). As a matter of course I inserted a chapter on the diplomatic relations between two countries in the former book. The latter, however, gives the detailed description of the same, taking out the chapter of international intercourse from the former.

The former book is made up of eight chapters and some supplementary articles. Chapter I is introductory, and explains the general ideas of the intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th century. Chapter II. is entitled, "General appearance of Japan in 16th and 17th centuries from the point of view of foreign trade," and gives a few brief descriptions of the internal economic conditions and foreign diplomatic relations as a premise of the main subject, the above being chiefly secured from works of the present day. Then I entitled Chapter III. "General appearance of foreign relations of Siam in the



17th century," as I thought it necessary to give a brief description regarding the general conditions of Siam at that time, corresponding to the previous chapter. Furthermore I sub-divided this chapter into 7 sections, namely:

Introductory,

General remarks on commercial development in Siam,

General remarks regarding trade between Siam and Holland,

General remarks regarding trade between England, and Siam,

General remarks regarding commercial intercourse between Siam and China,

General remarks regarding relations between Siam and Portugal, and between Siam and Spain,

General remarks regarding relations between Siam and France. This chapter also gives various explanations regarding politics, diplomacy, trade, etc., in Siam at that time. The source of the references are the various articles in Journals published by the Siam Society and old and new works by European authors.

Chapter IV, entitled "The Japanese Pirates, licensed trade boats and the peaceful development of the Japanese people," is sub-divided into three sections, namely, "Pirates," "The system of licensed trade boats" and "Japanese peaceful development abroad." This chapter deals chiefly with the general idea of the process of Japanese development toward South Sea districts in the 16th and 17th centuries. The reference for the above I secured from various old records by Japanese and Europeans, and as to the interpretation of the term "Tardan," which has no definite explanation so far, except the fact that this was a certain district or person to whom Ieyasu, the first Tokugawa Shogun, wrote and asked for some sweet scented woods, I put forth my own assumption after elaborate study.

Chapter V, and the subsequent chapters are the main part of this book. Chapter V, is entitled "National intercourse between Japan and Siam," and is sub-divided into the following 10 sections:

Diplomatic policy of Tokugawa Government,

The start of national intercourse between Japan and Siam,

The first visit to Japan by a Siamese envoy and ship,

Visits made by Siamese envoys in 1623 (the 9th year of Genwa),

Visit made by a Siamese envoy in 1626 (the 3rd year of Kanyei),

Visit made by a Siamese envoy in 1629 (the 6th year of Kanyei),

The interruption of the visit by Siamese envoy and ship,



An envoy despatched by King Prasat Tong of Siam,  
Later national intercourse between the two countries,  
The national intercourse between Japan and Pattani.

Section I explains the diplomatic policy of the Japanese at the early stage of the Tokugawa period, referring to Japanese books and documents; and Section II. gives some idea as to the exchange of credentials and national presents before the visit made by the first envoy from Siam; and in Section III. and the rest I made several descriptions regarding the interruption of the Siamese envoy and ship, etc. I describe the state of things at the time in Siam, and give particulars of the contents of the credentials, by referring to Japanese old books such as "Ikokunikki" (Diary of Foreign relations done by Priest Suden who was charged in preparing credentials at this time), and "Tsukoichiran" (Description of Foreign Trade and intercourse done by some scholars in Tokugawa Government), etc. As to the titles of honour of the Siamese Kings, as well as the envoys' names, I tried to make clear by a thorough study of the old records kept by the British East Indies Co., and the Dutch East Indies Co., and a book entitled "Commercial intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th century" by Sir Ernest Satow, by comparing various old records and by the co-operation of some experts in the Siamese language.

I entitled Chapter VI. "Japanese Adventures to Siam and Japanese Settlement," making a full explanation as to the conditions of Japanese life and colony in the Siamese Capital in those days. Regarding reference books, I should like to state that much obligation is owed by me to Japanese, European and Siamese authors.

This chapter is divided into 8 sections, namely:

- Japanese first adventure to Siam,
- General remarks of city of Ayudia in old days,
- Japanese adventures to Siam in the 16th and 17th centuries,
- Japanese and Japanese Settlement in Siam,
- Reasons of decay of Japanese Settlement in Siam,
- Names and enterprises of Japanese,
- Traffic road between Japan and Siam, and
- A fairway in Menam River.

In Section I., "Japanese first adventure to Siam," I expressed my doubt regarding the common opinion that the Royal Prince Takaoka of Japan died in the year 880 A. C. in the Malaya Peninsula and stated my opinion that it might be Siam, for the reason that at that

time Siam was the centre of traffic between the Orient and Europe and moreover was the local centre of Buddhism.

In Section II, I tried to describe the general position of the Siamese capital at the time of this Japanese activity; and in Section III, I decided that the Japanese first residence began from the end of the Tensho period (1573-1591 A. C.). In Section IV, "Japanese Residence and Colony," I tried to correct exaggerated ideas such as that the Japanese residents in Siam at this time were over 8,000, which I had seen in several old works by Japanese authors. All the above sections were written after careful study and comparing the works of Japanese as well as European authors. Then in Section V, "The reason of the decline of Japanese residence," I explained that the chief reasons of the decline were the brutality of the Japanese colonists, who were almost defeated warriors in the War of Ohsaka between the Tokugawa and the Toyotomi, and the commercial rivalry of the Hollanders. I denied that the national isolation policy taken by the Tokugawa Government was an important reason of this decline, though it was the chief cause of the decline of the Japanese colony in other parts of the South Seas. In Section VI, "Names and enterprises of Japanese," I tried to make clear the names and the enterprises of others than Yamada Nagamasa, the well-known Chief of the Japanese colony at a certain time; but it is almost impossible to ascertain more than twenty well-known persons. Section VII is the explanation of the "Description of the traffic road from Siam to Japan," which is a record done by a Japanese navigator in the period of Genwa (1615-1623), and I thought that many Japanese authors made many mistakes in explanation of of this Record, caused chiefly by their indifference to the geography of Siam, and the names of ports in that and neighbouring countries. I tried and was able to make clear the above from the various records and documents of the British and Dutch East Indies companies. In Section VIII, I explained the traffic and the names of places along the River Menam and succeeded in correcting the mistakes of many Japanese authors by study of Siamese and European documents.

Chapter VII deals with "Yamada Nagamasa, the most well-known leader of Japanese colonists"; and this is sub-divided into 11 sections, namely: Introduction, Records regarding Nagamasa, Nagamasa's growth and his crossing the sea to Siam, Nagamasa's first rise in the world, Revolution in Siam and Nagamasa's position, Oya Calahom's



characteristic and his ambition, Nagamasa appointed Ligor Governor, Nagamasa in Ligor, Asamanomiya-ema (Votive picture presented to Asama Shrine in Japan by Nagamasa as a gesture in expressing his thanks to the Shrine for a successful war in co-operation with a Siamese King against Portugal or Cambodia, a Siamese enemy), Oin Yamada (Nagamasa's son), and the Siamese King's attack on the Japanese settlement. All these were studied from Japanese materials in old times, as well as from records made by Van Vliet, who was staying in Siam from 1629 to 1634 as a representative of the Dutch East Indies Co. Van Vliet wrote two useful works during his stay in Siam. One is named "Description of the Kingdom of Siam," which describes the geography, products, industry and other social conditions in Siam. The other is called "Historical Account of Siam in the 17th century," reporting minutely the Revolution in Siam in 1647; it was presented to the Dutch Governor in Java. This was published originally in the Dutch language and in 1663 was translated into French at Paris; and afterwards, in 1914, Mr. Mundie made a translation of this book into English on behalf of Prince Damrong, the President of Siamese Royal Institute of Arts. One copy of this translation is left in Siam at present, which I think is the most valuable record for the students who make investigation of the Siamese political situation and our Nagamasa's activity at that time. I wrote this chapter by referring to Van Vliet's works, "Siam Fudo Gunki" (Description of Japanese activity in Siamese politics and war), "Ikoku Nikki" (Diary of Foreign Relations between Japanese and Foreign Countries) and various kinds of works of foreign authors. And I not only discovered several fresh facts from Van Vliet's works, but also I could produce proof of Nagamasa's deeds and achievements in Siam in concrete form, which was only an imagination in past days. Furthermore as to the year of his death, I could also conclude it to be the end of 1630 or beginning of 1631, though it was heretofore believed to be 1636 (the 13th year of Kanyei).

I entitled Chapter VIII. "Japanese-Siamese Trade." There was indeed, a fairly vigorous trade connection between those two countries at the beginning of the 17th century, and I believe that the most important purpose of Siam, in making efforts to promote diplomatic relations by sending an envoy and credentials, was for the cultivation of the trade with Japan. In those days the Royal family in Siam was enjoying the monopoly of foreign trade, so the Kings of



Siam tried to send sapan-wood, deerskin, etc., to Japan, and to import copperware, silver, gold, weapons, etc. Furthermore the under-mentioned facts may be considered as motives which drove the Kings of Siam to be enthusiastic admirers of Japanese trade:— (1) The Dutch merchants, who had their bases in Java, were gaining tremendous profit by exporting European and Siamese goods to Japan and bringing Japanese goods to Siam by return voyage. (2) Nagamasa and other prominent Japanese were engaging in trade with Japan by sending vessels to Japan, and they introduced "Japan" to the Kings of Siam.

In those days the Siamese-Japanese trade was carried on chiefly by the Dutch East Indies Company; and English and Japanese merchants as well as Kings of Siam joined in this trade later.

This chapter is divided into 11 sections, namely: The Products of Siam, The merchandise of Siamese-Japanese trade, The Export and Import Prices, Japano-Siamese trade by English, Japano-Siamese trade by Dutch merchants, Japano-Siamese trade by Siamese, Japano-Siamese trade by Japanese, Special commercial customs in connection with the Japano-Siamese trade, Monetary system in Siam, Comparison of Japanese money with Siamese, and metrical units in Siam and the Customs Tariff in Siam. The materials and data were taken from the old and present records in Japan, records of the Dutch East Indies Company and the British East Indies Company, and several works of European authors. Regarding Section X., "Comparison of Japanese money with Siamese," I studied this by not only making references to the above-mentioned materials, but also by weighing myself old Siamese silver coins, which were used in the 16th and 17th centuries, with Mr. le May, the Adviser to the Commercial Department of the Siamese Government and well-noted for his researches in regard to old coins in Siam.

I attached as supplementary articles:—(1) Administration in Siam in the period of the Ayuthia Kingdom, (2) a study of the Royal family system in Siam, (3) Official ranks in Siam, (4) System of Slave classes in Siam, and (5) Ancient Chinese books and documents regarding Siam (15 pieces in number). As to (1) I attached this to my book as I thought it necessary to furnish accurate knowledge of the systems of politics and administration in Siam in order to study the actual position of national intercourse between Japan and Siam; and this I wrote by reference to works by Prince Damrong, the pre-

sident of the Royal Institute of Arts in Siam, modifying it with some Japanese books and history.

The purpose of the attachment of (2), which I wrote up from the works of Messrs. Eugene Giber (*Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chine, Deuxième Série*) and Carl Bock (*Temples and Elephants*), is to make reference to the study of the outline of the social system of Siam, as there were many Royal families and the country had been governed by the same families. The system of official ranks in Siam is a very hard one to understand. However, in considering the fact that the Siamese race, in origin, started in Nanchow, Yunnan Province, this system—with various other administrative systems of the old Chinese—does greatly resemble the systems of our "Taihorei" or Order of Taiho Era (701-703 A. C.), which was also taken from the Chinese system; and furthermore I thought this Siamese Official Rank system was influenced by Indian civilization. Judging from this fact, I can say that the oriental nations have many common civilizations; and this is worthy to be studied carefully. In particular there were many Japanese who secured from Siamese Kings various official ranks owing to their gallant deeds. I, therefore, attached this to my book by studying various works by Europeans, and I have not failed to mention also the Japanese old Rank system, which is similar to the Siamese.

In order to make clear the conditions of the slave class, I attached (4) in order to show the real life of the mass class by referring to various works of foreigners. Then as to (5), I intended to let everybody know the true value of Chinese old books, for the study not only of Siam but also of all southern districts, as there are many descriptions of geographic study and national products in those days of Siam, as well as various districts hereabouts; and also they contain very valuable records in regard to the traffic and intercourse between China and Siam.

My second book, "The correspondence between Tokugawa Shogunate and Siamese Kings at the beginning of the Tokugawa period" is finished by including Chapter V. of my "History of Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th century" and by amending and completing it with the up-to-date materials since found. This second book consists of the following 15 chapters:—

1. Introductory.
2. Our diplomatic policy at the beginning of Tokugawa period.



3. National and Commercial intercourse between Japan and Siam and various examples of assistance made by Japanese in Siam.
4. First motive of the King of Siam for opening trade and national intercourse with Japan.
5. Opening of national intercourse between Japan and Siam.
6. The first visit to Japan made by a Siamese envoy and ship (1616).
7. Visit made by Siamese envoy in 1621 (the 7th year of Genwa).
8. Visit made by Siamese envoy in 1623 (the 9th year of Genwa).
9. Visit made by Siamese envoy in 1626 (the 3rd year of Kanyei).
10. Visit made by Siamese envoy in 1629 (the 6th year of Kanyei).
11. Interruption of the visits of Siamese envoys and ships.
12. Envoy despatched to Japan by King Plasa Tong.
13. Later intercourse between the two countries.
14. The official intercourse between Japan and Pattani.
15. Conclusion.

This book is now about to be published.

The most remarkable amendment of this book is made by referring to "A visit made by Siamese envoy in 1616 (the 2nd year of Genwa) and the study of the Siamese credentials," which was discovered in "Koun Zuihitsu" by assistant Professor S. Iwao, of the Formosan University. The visit made by a Siamese envoy in the 2nd year of Genwa was unknown before this discovery; but it was made clear by this study, so I corrected my opinion and made 1616 instead of 1621 the date when the first envoy of Siam came to Japan.

The Japanese materials or documents referred to by me in the above-mentioned book are 62 in number; the Chinese ancient books are 11, and there are various works of contemporary authors. The European books used are as follows:

Diary of Richard Cocks. Edited by Edward Maunce Thompson. Hakluyt Society, London.

Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the close of the Sixteenth Century, by Antonio de Morga. Translated from the Spanish by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley. Hakluyt Society, London.

The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613. Edited from Contemporary Records by Sir Ernest M. Satow, K. C. M. G. Hakluyt Society, London.



The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies. Edited by Mr. P. A. Tiele (Second Volume). Hakluyt Society, London.

The Voyage and Works of John Davis the Navigator. Edited by Albert Hastings Markham. Hakluyt Society, London.

Records of the Relations Between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century. Copied from Papers preserved at the India Office. Printed by order of the Council of the Vajirananan National Library, Bangkok, 1915.

Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1878. Singapore, 1878.

Temples and Elephants: The Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through Upper Siam and Lao, by Carl Bock, London, 1884.

The Voyage and Adventure of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, The Portuguese. (Done into English by Henry Cogan). With an Introduction by Arminius Vambery, London.

Essai sur les Relations du Japon et de l'Indochine. Par N. Peri. Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Tome XXIII—1923.

A new History of the Relations of the Kingdom of Siam, by Monsieur de la Loubère, Envoy Extraordinary from the French King, to the King of Siam, in the year 1687, and 1688. Done out of French, by A. P. Gen. R. S. S.

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#### ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1936.

The Council of the Siam Society has pleasure in submitting its report for 1936.

The Council met regularly throughout the year under review, the number of meetings being eleven and the average attendance seven (five constituting a quorum according to the Rules) at each Council. Phya Jolamark and Mr. H. Brandli resigned from the Council during the year.

#### PARMENTIER CATALOGUE.

The translation from French to English of the Parmentier catalogue of the objects contained in the Museums of Siam undertaken by Major Seidenfaden, at the request of the Council, is now proceeding to completion, and is expected to be ready for the press in the first quarter of 1937.

#### MEETINGS.

Two ordinary General Meetings were held during the year. In August, Professor F. J. M. Stratton, Professor of Astrophysics and Director of the Solar Physics Observatory, Cambridge University and Leader of the British Solar Eclipse Expedition to Japan, on his way home revisited Bangkok and was kind enough to lecture before the Society again. His subject was "A Changing Universe," and a large audience was present.

In September Dr. Hugo A. Bernatzik, Lecturer for Ethnology at the University of Graz (Austria) who is making an extended visit to Siam, gave a talk before the Society on "Some Primitive Tribes in South Africa, the South Sea Islands and New Guinea." Dr. Bernatzik has since this date been in the north-east part of Siam and the Council hope that before leaving Siam for good, Dr. Bernatzik will be able to lecture before the members on the results of his investigations of the primitive tribes inhabiting that part of Siam,



## PUBLICATIONS.

Vol. XXIX, Part I of the Journal was posted to members during the year. It was a well illustrated number and included the important researches of Phya Nakon Phra Ram on the subject of Tai Ceramics, and a valuable treatise on "the Coins of North Siam" by Dr. W. Harding Kneidler.

In November the Natural History Supplement Vol. X, No. 2 was sent out to members. This also was an issue well up to the standard of previous numbers and included a revised hand-list of the Birds of the Chiangmai Region by Mr. H. G. Deignan; a well illustrated paper on the Edible Bird-nest Islands of Siam contributed by the President; and a description of the method of growing the Lotus Mushroom, by Sup Vatna of the Department of Biology of the Chulalongkorn University. The number of Miscellaneous Notes also published in this Supplement made the issue of interest to the general body of Members.

Dharmasat—The Council sanctioned the publication of the Dharmasat prepared by Mr. J. Burnay, the cost to be met from the Reserve funds of the Society. At the time of writing this report the plates for this publication had been made, but the completion of this work awaits the return of Mr. Burnay from Europe, whither he proceeded on sick leave shortly before the close of the year under review.

## THE LIBRARY.

The Council has maintained with slight alterations the Exchange List of previous years, and the exchanges received have been bound on completion of volumes, and added to the Society's ever-growing Library.

It is a matter of regret that some volumes from the Society's Library have now been on loan for a period longer than is customary, and their early return is deemed of importance by the Council.

## TRIBAL DRESSES.

The care and maintenance of the Tribal dresses of Siam has been in the hands of Major Seidenfaden during the year. Some additions have been forthcoming to the collection already established, and boxes have been purchased for storing these costumes in good condition. Major Seidenfaden has the task of preparing these dresses

on suitable models for exhibition to the Society early in 1937, and following this display, it is hoped these exhibits will remain on permanent exhibition in the Society's home. The thanks of the Council have been tendered to those officials in the capital and the provinces who have so kindly co-operated in making this collection possible.

#### OBITUARY.

The Council regrets to record the death on September 14th of H. R. H. the Prince of Kamphaeng Bejra, an Honorary Vice-President of the Society and a former Leader of the Transport and Travel Section of the Society. An address of condolence was sent to H. R. H. the Princess Prabhavasi Narinol in the name of the Council and the Society. The Council also laid a wreath before the Royal remains on their being set up in state at Wat Benchamabopit.

The deaths are also recorded with regret of Professor Cornelius Beach Bradley and Mr. R. W. Giblin both of whom contributed valuable papers to early numbers of the Journal, and Dr. Haws Feltus, whose interest in Siam in the years of his retirement was productive in the sending to Siam of copious extracts from the Journals and Diaries kept by the early American Missionaries who laboured here, and which are now deposited at the University of Ohio and elsewhere for preservation.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

In the course of the year nineteen new ordinary members were elected and two were re-elected making an addition of twenty-one in all as compared with fourteen in 1935. One ordinary member died, nine resigned and two were removed for non-payment of subscription, being a loss of twelve altogether.

Three Honorary members and one ordinary member, died as recorded in detail elsewhere, and one Corresponding member, (Mr. Taw Sein Ko) was reported to have died some time ago.

On the 1st January, 1937 the membership was as follows:—

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Ordinary	Free.
16	12	3	141	4

making a total of 176 as compared with 171 in 1935, 189 in 1934 and 207 in 1933.



## FLORAE SIAMENSIS ENUMERATIO (CRAIB).

Part 3 of Volume II of this publication was issued early in the year; no further material has been received from the Editor in the course of the year. At the same time circulars were sent to about one hundred institutions abroad, including most of those which formerly received gratuitous copies from Aberdeen University, and an advertisement was inserted in the annual publication *Chronica Botanica*.

There was a satisfactory response to the circular and the subscription list is now in better condition than before.

During the year the Aberdeen University made a final payment of twenty pounds to settle the very confused accounts relating to unbound parts supplied. The Council desires to acknowledge their very ready help in clearing up this matter.

## REVISION OF RULES.

The edition of Rules printed in 1925 is now almost exhausted and therefore the Council decided that it would be opportune to subject them to review and revision if necessary. The matter was placed in the hands of a sub-Committee consisting of H. H. Prince Dhani and Messrs. Lingat and House who reported to the Council in due course.

A number of minor changes have been sanctioned by the Council and it is recommended that the quorum for a General meeting shall in future be a fixed proportion of members actually resident in Bangkok, instead of an arbitrary number as at present. The legal position of the Society as a property owner has also received attention.

The Council gave very careful consideration to a recommendation of the sub-Committee that members living abroad should pay a lower rate of subscription but it was decided not to make any change at present on financial grounds because the membership of Society is very small. It is hoped to place the revised Rules before the members at the next Annual General Meeting.

## NATURAL HISTORY SECTION.

The Section has been in charge of Dr. A. G. Ellis as Leader throughout the year with Mr. C. J. House as Secretary and has been rather more active than for some years past.



Three meetings have been held during the year.

On February 19th there was a meeting for the demonstration of specimens supported by two papers: "Common parasites causing disease in Human Beings" by Dr. Svasti Daengsvang and "A method of growing the Lotus Mushroom" by Nai Sup Vatna; the latter paper was subsequently published in the Natural History Supplement.

On June 24th, Mr. U. Guehler received the members at his house and showed a number of living specimens of large birds and a very considerable collection of horns and antlers. Later on he gave an interesting talk of his experiences on a recent hunting trip in the Mâ Wong district and considerable discussion followed.

On October 14th the Section assembled to hear Phya Indra Montri's paper on the Swifts which build edible nests and also a paper on Sea Squirts from the Gulf of Siam by Luang Choolacheeb.

All three meetings have been fully reported in the Natural History Supplement.

#### TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT SECTION.

This section has played a large part in the activities of the Society during the past year; Phya Srishtikarn Banchong has continued as Leader and due to his hard work and activity the Society has been able to resume excursions to local places of interest, a popular branch of the Society's work which has been in abeyance for a number of years. In addition, this Section made arrangements for some excellent visits to Bangkok temples.

##### 1. **Excursions.**

###### (a) *Pimai*—held January 24–26th (Chinese New Year).

This excursion to the seldom visited Khmer ruins of Pimai is probably the most ambitious effort of the Society up-to-date. Twenty-four members and guests took part in the adventure. The first night was spent in the train at Korat and Pimai was reached early next day; the difficult road-less section from Chakaraj station was covered in two ancient buses, one of which broke down on the return journey. The difficulties were overcome and the party arrived in Bangkok the following afternoon according to plan.

(b) *Lophuri*—held Sunday, February 23rd.

This was a day excursion on the same lines as former visits; twenty-one members and friends participated.

Major Seidenfaden very kindly acted as guide here as well as at Pimai.

(c) *Angkor Wat*—held December 24th–27th.

Twenty-one persons took part in this, the Society's second trip to Angkor Wat. It was not possible to arrange for the rail journey to be made by night as was done in 1930 but the new motor road from the Siamese frontier to Angkor enabled the party to reach the ruins on the evening of the 24th December. Two complete days were spent there and Mr. Rémy de Planterose kindly acted as leader of the party.

2. **Visits to Bangkok Temples.**

Visits were made to some of the well-known Bangkok Temples on alternate Saturday afternoons during the rainy season, the following being the places selected:—Bôt Brahm and the Wats Rajabopit, Raj Pradit, Phra Jetukon, Raj Nada, Thap Tida, Benchamabopit, Mahathat, Jana Songkram, Prayurawongs, Pijai-yati, Arun, Saket and Suthat.

Usually two temples were visited in the course of each afternoon.

All the visits were well attended and were found very interesting, while it also proved to be an activity which attracted a number of new members to the Society. On the occasion of the visit to Wat Mahathat (August 22nd), H. R. H. Prince Kambheng Bejra, then on his last visit to Bangkok, joined the party for a short time.

The programme was rounded off by a Sunday morning visit to the Grand Palace and Wat Phra Keo on October 18th.

Much of the success of these visits was due to the explanations given by Major Seidenfaden who acted as guide on nearly every occasion and to the careful arrangements of the Section-Leader, Phya Srishtikarn Banchong who also acted as guide on several visits. The Council here records its sincere appreciation of their services.



## SOCIETY'S BUILDING.

Following the advice of the Honorary Architect, ( Mr. E. Healey ) some small repairs to gutters etc., were carried out.

The campaign against white ants was continued and none were seen in the building during the year. The Council have decided to bring the town water supply into the premises but it was estimated that the cost of the sanitary installation provided for in the original plans would be Tes. 886. This was thought to be beyond the Society's financial resources at present and a sub-committee consisting of Honorary Architect, Librarian and Treasurer was deputed to submit a more economical scheme.

Owing to an unusually dry season the approach roads gave little trouble this year. The neighbouring land-owner on the south of the Society's property was approached with a view to co-operation in securing the land required to obtain direct access to the Paknam road but this object has not yet been achieved.

## SIAM ART AND CAMERA CLUB.

This club, on its dissolution, made a gift of its funds, amounting to Tes. 230 to the Society with a recommendation "that the Siam Society form a Section for the encouragement of Art and/or Photography in Siam when they think the time is more opportune." The Council in gratefully acknowledging this gift accepted the Club's recommendation in principle. The money has been added to the sum kept on fixed deposit.

## ACCOUNTS.

The accounts call for little comment this year as the income of the Society was well maintained and the expenditure closely followed that of a normal year. The revenue from the sale of Craib's Flora was particularly satisfactory and more than covered the cost of printing the new part issued during the year.





## CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP.

## ELECTIONS.

1936.

July 1st.—Messrs. J. Edkins and W. G. Taylor.

September 2nd.—Mr. J. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk.

November 4th.—Messrs. W. A. M. Doll, O. Losch, W. D. Reeve,  
D. S. Green, A. R. Buchanan.

December 2nd.—Dr. J. de Campos.

1937.

February 3rd.—Lt.-Col. Pichon, Mr. E. L. Knox.

March 3rd.—Phra Saroj Ratana Nimanaka.

## HONORARY MEMBER.

At the Annual General Meeting held on February 24th, 1937, Professor Dr. W. Credner, Munich, Germany, was elected an Honorary member of the Society.

## RESIGNATIONS.

Dr. J. M. May	Mr. A. H. Hale	Mr. H. G. Q. Wales.
Rev. K. P. Landon	Mr. C. E. Novion	Col. Roux.
C. L'Evesque	Mom Luang Sarit.	Prof. H. Eygout.
Bureau of Foreign Affairs, Government General of Formosa.		
University of Taihoku, Formosa.		

## DIED.

The death of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, *Corresponding member*, was reported in 1936.

## REVISION OF RULES.

A new edition of the Rules of the Society has been published incorporating certain alterations which were passed by the Annual General Meeting on February 24th, 1937. Any member wishing to have a copy sent to him should apply to the Honorary Secretary.

## THE COUNCIL.

(elected at the Annual General Meeting, February 24th., 1937.)

Phya Indra Montri (F. H. GILES)      PRESIDENT.

Erik Seidenfaden

H. H. Prince Dhani Nivat      } Vice-President.

W. H. Mundie

Dr. A. G. Ellis

Leader of Natural History Section.

Phya Srishdikarn Banchong

Leader of Travel Section.

J. Burnay

Honorary Editor.

E. Healey

Honorary Architect.

H. S. H. Prince

Varnvaidyakara Varavarn.

R. Lingat.

Rev. Father Chorn.

Phya Sarasastra Sirilaks.

H. S. H. Prince Sakol.

Varnakara Varavarn.

Ong Thye Ghee

J. E. Davies

Dr. George McFarland.

W. Zimmerman

U. Guehler      ...      Honorary Librarian.

C. J. House      ...      Honorary Treasurer.

R. Adey Moore      ...      Honorary Secretary.

(509) End

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